

New England and the Indians.

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OF  
SAMUEL LEE AND SAMUEL SEWALL  
RELATING TO  
NEW ENGLAND AND THE INDIANS  
EDITED BY  
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE

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# LETTERS

OF

## SAMUEL LEE AND SAMUEL SEWALL RELATING TO NEW ENGLAND AND THE INDIANS

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THE Rev. Samuel Lee, while Pastor of the Church at Bristol, Rhode Island, received from Nehemiah Grew, M.D., of London (famous as a pioneer in vegetable physiology), a long document, consisting of two series of numbered questions. The first series related to the Colony of Massachusetts and to Harvard College; the second and more elaborate series had to do with the Indians of New England. Grew's document seems not to be extant, but Lee's reply is preserved, in holograph, in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 4062, fols. 235-236).<sup>1</sup> It is fully dated at the end: "June 25. 1690. at Mount Hope." Lee sent the letter to Samuel Sewall at Boston, with a request that he forward it to Grew. This appears from the outside of the letter, where we read, in Lee's hand:

For the very Learned Doctor  
Nehemiah Grew. M.D. at  
his Lodging in Fleetstreet.  
London.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Saywell I pray inclose  
it in yo<sup>r</sup> when you write to  
him, with my service.

Under this request, Sewall has written:

Recd these Observations  
Jan<sup>y</sup> 24. 169<sup>4</sup>

Under date of February 5, 1691, Sewall notes in his Letter-Book:<sup>2</sup> "To Dr. Nehem. Grew, inclosing Mr. Lee's Observations, and some few animadversions of my own." Sewall's covering letter has also found an asylum among the Sloane MSS. (4067, fols. 140-141).<sup>3</sup> Both letters are now printed for the first time.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lee's letter fills three pages. The fourth page, of course, formed the outside of the document as folded, and received the address.

<sup>2</sup> i. 116.

<sup>3</sup> It is on a four-page sheet. The third page is blank, and the fourth contains the address.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Publications of this Society, x. 32.

Nehemiah Grew, M.D. (1641-1712), was the son of Obadiah Grew, D.D. (1607-1689). Sewall made the acquaintance of the Grews, father and son, when he was in England in 1689. Under April 4th of that year he notes in his almanac: "Dr. Nehemiah Grew son of Dr. Obadiah Grew formerly of Baliol Colledg, Oxford,<sup>1</sup> lives at Racket Court in Fleet-Street near Shoe-Lane. — Leave a Ps[alm]. B[ook]. there." On April 6th he called on Dr. Obadiah Grew at Coventry, and was "very candidly and kindly received," and on the 8th he "din'd with Dr. Obadia Grew and his Daughter and 2 Kinswomen."<sup>2</sup> On the 20th he records in his Diary that he gave one copy of "Revolution"<sup>3</sup> to "Dr. Grew of Coventry" and one to "Dr. Nehemiah Grew," and on the 24th he remarks: "Writt to Dr. Grew, inclosing my Psalm-Book, in Turkey-Leather, and 4 of Mr. Cotton Mather's Sermons."<sup>4</sup> On July 4th, he copies into his Diary a farewell letter "to Dr. Obadia Grew of Coventry."<sup>5</sup>

Since both Mr. Lee and Dr. Grew have been deemed worthy of a place in the Dictionary of National Biography, it is unnecessary to dilate upon them here. For convenience, however, I may note that Lee, after a distinguished career in the mother country, sailed from Gravesend on June 24, 1686, and arrived in Boston on August 22d.<sup>6</sup> He was called to the Church at Bristol on November 9th of the same year, and began his labors there on April 10, 1687.<sup>7</sup> Late in 1691 he sailed for England with Captain John Foy. The ship was captured by the French and taken to St. Malo,<sup>8</sup> where Lee died in December.<sup>9</sup> "In his Return for *England*," writes Cotton Mather, "the *French* took him a *Prisoner*, and uncivilly detaining him, he died in *France*; where he found the Grave of an *Heretick*, and was therein (after some sort, like *Wickliff* and *Bucer*) made a *Martyr* after

<sup>1</sup> Obadiah Grew was of Balliol College; Nehemiah was of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> Diary, i. 304-305.

<sup>3</sup> The Revolution in New England Justified.

<sup>4</sup> Diary, i. 250.

<sup>5</sup> i. 262.

<sup>6</sup> Sewall, Diary, i. 148.

<sup>7</sup> Wilfred H. Munro, *History of Bristol*, 1880, pp. 130, 131.

<sup>8</sup> Under date of January 26, 1691-2, Sewall remarks: "Foy (in whom went Mr. Lee) taken into France." On Captain Foy see the Transactions of this Society, x. 112 note 2.

<sup>9</sup> Lee's will was proved April 13, 1692, and in the Probate Aot Book the testator is said to have died in France ("in regno Galliae def[unc]ti"). See Waters, *Gleanings*, i. 470-471.

his Death.”<sup>1</sup> The reader will remember that Mather’s third wife (Lydia, the widow of John George) was Lee’s daughter.<sup>2</sup>

It is an odd circumstance that, in the letter now first printed, Lee himself seems to forecast his own fate. In a postscript,<sup>3</sup> after describing bayberry candles, he remarks:

I have made some & might have sent you a candle for your Epictetus Studies: but I feare as yet they will saile into France if you send us not some Frigots to convey them & us to you: yt may be of great comfort to ye Country under y<sup>r</sup> many dangers & likewise I should hope to see you by y<sup>e</sup> leave of o<sup>r</sup> gracious God but I dare not yet venture in ships of no force, who run into S. Maclovig<sup>4</sup> to see yt port: The Ld dđ us.

Mr. Lee was a scholar of wide and profound attainments. He left a noble collection of books behind him when he sailed for England. It was dispersed after his death. A great part of it came into the hands of Duncan Cambell, the Boston bookseller, whose catalogue of the collection may be found in the Boston Public Library.<sup>5</sup> I have seen volumes that once belonged to Lee in the Boston Athenæum, in the New York Society Library, and in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. Lee says, at the end of his letter, that he received most of his intelligence from “one M<sup>r</sup> Arnold a practitioner in Physick of good request in Rhode Island, who hath conversed [i. e., associated] much with the Indians.” This was beyond a doubt Caleb Arnold, of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, the son of Governor Benedict Arnold (1615–1678), of Providence and Newport, who was the son of William Arnold (1587–c.1676) of Providence. Caleb Arnold was born December 19, 1644, and died February 9, 1719. His will was proved March 9, 1719. The inventory of his estate includes books valued at £17,

<sup>1</sup> Magnalia, 1702, Book iii. pt. iv. chap. 6, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> See a letter to her from the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman (February 7, 1700–01) in the Transactions of this Society, viii. 247–250.

<sup>3</sup> P. 152, below.

<sup>4</sup> S. Maclovius, i. e. St. Malo in Brittany.

<sup>5</sup> The Library of the late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee . . . Exposed at the most Easy Rates, to Sale, by *Duncan Cambell*, Bookseller at the *Dock-head* over-against the Conduit. *Boston* Printed for Duncan Cambell . . . 1693. (Prince Library.) Dr. Samuel A. Green gives the title-page in his *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions relating to Old Boston and Neighborhood* (1901). Cf. 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, x. 540–544.

gallipots, vials, three cases of bottles, mortar, pestle, and lancets. He describes himself as "practitioner of physic."<sup>1</sup>

In 1687 Dr. Nehemiah Grew sent a set of queries relating to the Virginia Indians to the Rev. John Clayton. It was much shorter than that which he afterwards sent to Lee. Clayton's replies are printed in the Philosophical Transactions.<sup>2</sup>

The notes which I append to Lee's letter are of course merely intended to be suggestive, not to exhaust any of the many subjects which he broaches.<sup>3</sup> I have often referred to Mr. C. F. Adams's edition of Morton's *New English Canaan*, but I wish here to make a particular acknowledgment of indebtedness to his learning and industry.

# I

[Rev. Samuel Lee to Nehemiah Grew, M.D.]

[First page: Sloane MS. 4062, fol. 235 a]

[ I h]ave<sup>4</sup> sent you such replies as I could collect in this [part of the] world to yo<sup>r</sup> Questions; praying yo<sup>r</sup> candid acceptance [ b]riefe answers.

[1. In New Engl]and<sup>5</sup> there is a very pretty [ ] a handsome library & severall [c]onveniencies for Scholars at a place now called, Cambridge about 5 or 6 miles frō Boston & is styled, the Colledge, hath a president & some fellowes, It was given by one M<sup>r</sup> Harvard & calld by his name. They take degrees of Batchelor & M<sup>r</sup> of Arts but proceed no further. It was instituted by y<sup>e</sup> Governour & Magistrates of y<sup>e</sup> Massachussets Colony in the yeere. 1642. as I [ ]<sup>6</sup> not much

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Austin, *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, Albany, 1887, pp. 242-243.

<sup>2</sup> No. 454, xli. 143-162.

<sup>3</sup> The following works are sometimes cited by the authors' names merely, to save repetition of titles: — Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages to New England*, 2d ed., 1675; Morton, *New English Canaan*, 1637; Smith, *A Map of Virginia*, 1612; Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, ed. by R. H. Major for the Hakluyt Society, 1849; Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, ed. of 1635.

<sup>4</sup> Brackets indicate words or letters lost by the tearing off of the upper corners of the sheet. The words within brackets are supplied by conjecture.

<sup>5</sup> The word *England* is certain; part of the *gl* may be made out.

<sup>6</sup> Here the MS. is not damaged, but there is a short (or abbreviated) word illegible after *I*. The clause *as I* [ ] is interlined, with a caret. It seems to belong to what precedes.

salary: (2)<sup>1</sup> the Revenue of Charleston Ferry goes in p<sup>t</sup> to it I think. (3) about 40 or 50 students: but stands much at a stay by reason of changes & troubles.

4<sup>2</sup> No Corporation in a strict forme: no degrees in physick or Licentiates regular (5) no approbation, but by their patients: & the physicians are great patients in y<sup>r</sup> purses. (6) no Lectures or instructors but their owne pia or dura mater — salit in lævâ parte mamillæ. (7) Practitioners are laureated gratis with a title feather of Doctor. Potecaries, surgeons & midwives are dignified acc. to successe: (8) they use the London dispensatory at pleasure or any other, tyed to none.

9. Apothecaries make mithridate without inspection for they have it frō London. (10) They are punisht w<sup>th</sup> noli me tangere or a persicaria siliquosa to snap ag<sup>t</sup> them, if they faile. (11) I know of no licenses: but are Licentiâ deteriores. (12) 3 or 4 in that great towne w<sup>ch</sup> is about a mile in Length & full of people, counted by some about 7000<sup>d</sup> 3 of all sortes as I think I have heard if not more. (13) There is a pretty hospitall upon the cōmon for y<sup>e</sup> poore. may containe it may be 30 or 40 or more. (14) As for fees no great matters, ad libitū, or like o<sup>r</sup> cooks fees in Oxōn on friday nights. (15) Physitians may make or buy or send to the Potecaries. Quod libet, licet. (16) Potecaries doe practise what they will. physick & Surgery. (17) Barbing is a trade by it self: & tooth drawing is used at pleasure. (18) No Company, yt I know of; unles at y<sup>e</sup> Taverne. (19) I know not above 3 or 4 & not concerned by authority. Things are very raw here in these cases. udum & molle lutum. (20) Apprentices serve for yeeres as any other trade

21<sup>4</sup> They visit whom they please. Surgeons are of no Fraternity or

<sup>1</sup> The figure 2 stands in the margin, — the lines being arranged thus:

as I [ ]  
the yeere. 1642. ^ not much salary: the  
2 Revenue of Charleston Ferry goes in p<sup>t</sup> to it  
3 I think. about 40 or 50 students: but stands

Since it would be absurd to try to reproduce this arrangement (which continues throughout the first series of replies), I have transferred the figure, in each case, to a place immediately before the reply to which it belongs. In the second series of replies (about the Indians), no such transfers are necessary, for Mr. Lee has put each figure where it belongs, not running his replies together so much as in the first series.

<sup>2</sup> Here the figure 4 stands where it belongs. It is reasonable to begin a new paragraph here. Mr. Lee seldom indents, but I have done so wherever I thought he intended a paragraph.

<sup>3</sup> "7000<sup>d</sup>" is repeated by Lee in the margin, the 7 in the text being unclear.

<sup>4</sup> Here the 21 in the margin stands before its own reply, and I begin a new

guild but y<sup>r</sup> guelt what they can get. not many. & no qualification but frō their owne chest & boxe

24<sup>1</sup> I thinke no bills of mortality at least not printed. but some observation in y<sup>e</sup> registers. (25) of midwifes every one takes whom they please. (26) I knew one D<sup>r</sup> Avery since deceased, a man of pretty ingenuity: who from the Ars veterinaria fell into some notable skill in physick and midwifery & invented some usefull instrum<sup>ts</sup> for that case. & besides was a great inquirer and had skill in Helmont & chemicall physick & he had one notion w<sup>ch</sup> Ile mention (tho' alien from your enquiries) that if a ships planks & boards be laid from sterne to head in the graine as it grew from root to top: it were a great<sup>2</sup> facilitation to its quicker moti[on thro' y<sup>e</sup> water] & so I end the 1<sup>st</sup> row of enquiri[es.]

### As to the Indians

1.<sup>3</sup> Generally flaking black hai[re. they have no] beards or thin haire.

2 not so early.

3 more flat and dank faced but [ ] & tawny colourd: like the Tartarians. & I doe humbly judge that they come ptly from y<sup>e</sup> African Phœnicians as may seeme by Diod. Sic. l. 5. & ptly frō y<sup>e</sup> Easterne Tartars from Japan-ward It being as yet questionable whether Japan be an Iland or joynd to the Norwest of America. καὶ ἑσπαμένους πύθισθαι.<sup>4</sup>

4. Much at one: only y<sup>e</sup> legs & hands are much smaller.

5. From 4<sup>f</sup> & ½ to 6 & that rarely few so high or above.

6. generally leane & lank

7. No hermaphrodites. Some Monstrous births but few & none crooked.

8. much at one: but short of it, seldome till 18 or 19. [9]<sup>5</sup> none (10) much at one. The English have some times put some to nurse to them & done well

11 nothing extraordinary. (12) not much but ye Negroes here are

paragraph accordingly. There are no 22 and 23. Apparently Nos. 21-23 are all included under 21. No. 22 may begin with "Surgeons" and No. 23 with "not many."

<sup>1</sup> Here 24 is placed like 21 (see last note), and I begin a fresh paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> Here the first column of the first page ends.

<sup>3</sup> From this point there is no further complication of the kind described in note 4, p. 146, above, and I am able to follow the MS., which puts each figure before its proper reply.

<sup>4</sup> So in the MS., the Greek, however, being written in abbreviated fashion (see p. 166, below). We should read καὶ ἑσπαμένους πύθισθαι.

<sup>5</sup> The brackets are in the MS. and the 9 is plain.

very rank hardly endurable (13) nothing at all, but in consumptions. 14. much more then we, by eating beanes & Indian corne 15. rarely, nor the English but little 16. when in great anger, they look swarthy & black, in other cases, not at all. 17. No weepers under y<sup>e</sup> greatest torments, nor cry so much as, oh; tho' ye cut y<sup>m</sup> in pieces. Onely y<sup>e</sup> women in a little measure. I knew an Indian weep bitterly at a funerall.

18 No foole among Indians: but some borne deafe, & so, dumb: but very ingenious to demonstrate y<sup>r</sup> mindes

19. Great memories, especially in injuries

20. None in y<sup>e</sup> world, its thought like y<sup>m</sup> & they count him all one woman that cries out of any

21. very patient in fasting, & will gird in their bellies till they meet with food; but then none more gluttons or drunk on occasion. Theyle eat 10 times in 24 houres, when they have a beare or a deare & are great fishermen.

22 Can't speak to it: but think they doe not

23. Its uncertaine. they sleep & eat at all times & require as much as we

24. Seldome or rarely. 25 Some have tunable voices & sing finely in their half Christian meetings but want method

26. varies as dyet 27. beare 3 or 4 times as much physick as y<sup>e</sup> English in all cases. 28. much as y<sup>e</sup> English

29. Quick in motion: but not such strength as the English unles these shou'd degenerate<sup>1</sup> by hot & cold excesses & dyet

[Second page: fol. 235 b]

[30. Mo]re old women then men. wars & [other] causes wasts y<sup>m</sup>. many men there be [of] great age 80, 90 & some of 100 [that carry] baskets on y<sup>r</sup> backs at a great [pace bu]t usually they burden their [old wiv]es. w<sup>ch</sup> is unkindly 31. little or [none]. 32 rather barren, no twins that we heare of 33. Same exactly, variatis variandis 34. hardly marriageable till 18 or 19 or till y<sup>r</sup> menses flow & thats late (35) not so long as the English. 36. The French poxe & the Sebeniack or Consumption & y<sup>m</sup> very mortall, else few diseases. a pure aire generally.

37 That dreadfull disease & arrow of God is not knowne here, nor as I can heare in all America. Q. whether the many minerals especially

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a slight defect, a little piece of the lower right-hand corner of the leaf being cut or torn off. There can be no doubt that "degenerate" is right. The first two letters are preserved and the tops of most of the others.

Quicksilver & Arsenicall fumes may not extinguish such atomes would be inquired. as tis said 40 mile round the quicksilver mines in Friuli. or what other latent providence of God is in it, is worth yo<sup>r</sup> Learned inquisition If you think good. nor is the gout, nor rupture, nor Scurvy nor rickets observd amg y<sup>m</sup>

38 Small pox very frequent & dangerous

39 not observed. 40 It is comon, & calld cosh-caska. 41. not at all.

42. no contagious distemper: but the consumption: from w<sup>ch</sup> they fly, as being catching among y<sup>m</sup>, but not among y<sup>e</sup> English

43. They use two herbs, w<sup>ch</sup> are rank poyson the one like chervil, y<sup>e</sup> other like columbines: but no names can we tell: they are very secret in such things. pownd y<sup>m</sup> & drink y<sup>m</sup> in water. & swell till they dye in 6, 8, or 12 houres

44. None but the Ratlesnake: w<sup>ch</sup> turnes all the body into a speckled hew in a few houres, with great paine, tongues & heads work with the poyson

45. never: they have little or no love, but are almost like the beasts.

46. being not acquainted with their waies: onely heare, yt conjuration is frequent among y<sup>m</sup>. & then one appeares like a rattlesnake & sometimes like a white-headed eagle (47.) None (48.) none but y<sup>e</sup> negroes much afflicted. (49) they have generally very easy labour (50) have not heard or observed it. (51) not long. For they goe a digging Clams at 3 dayes end (52) we know little or nothing of any such matter. (53) nor can say but little to that. (54.) none. (55) none but whats comon to ours. (56) not so difficult. & mostly but little at all & their teeth continue longer. They eat not so much sugar: w<sup>ch</sup> being but y<sup>e</sup> salt of the cane impaires o<sup>r</sup> sweet teeth exceedingly<sup>1</sup>

57. Not observably. no [ ]

58. A very comon distemp[er] [ ] kernels & breakings out [ ]

59 Accidentally as other nati[ons but not] hæreditary (60) Autumne genera[lly.]

61 none. 62. distemps usually follow but not any pticular one

63 Norwest cures all. South east is unwholsome southwest when strong & with a seaturne breeds headakes & nervous distempers.

64. more changeable & unconstant then I ever found in England. contrary to y<sup>e</sup> usuall saying that Ilanders weathers are most various.

65. We haue not had it here: nor did I think of bringing one, coming in some hast: but find both heat & cold to be far more impetuous & hardly tolerable at times. severall dyed in y<sup>e</sup> y. 1689 of heat.

<sup>1</sup> First column of second page ends.

66. Any sort of meat they can get. None comes amisse & eat of all sorts night & day: & gird in y<sup>r</sup> bellies till they get some as before no curiosity in dressing. lay it before the fire, & dry y<sup>r</sup> fish & venison & y<sup>e</sup> usuall stuff is, Indian corne powdrd & mixt with water & call it No-cake by an English terme

67. As to swine flesh they eat it freely when they can get it & ordinarily sell it for Rum. swine at sea townes feed on Fish & are not so wholsom

68. Nothing more frequent then gorging when they have it & are beastly drunkards. Cry & howle extremely when they are drunk, I think I have heard them about half a mile severall times

69. Their onely sauce is hunger.

70. Their bread (such as 'tis) is made of green or old corne, baked under y<sup>e</sup> ashes. & call it, pone. It must be alwaies new, never holds 2 daies together

71. water onely: unles they get Rum or brandy. 72 most notoriously. 73 when sick they drink water hot or y<sup>r</sup> herbs in it infused or boild. rather

74. for diversion: Their tobacco is like henbane & take it in a Lobster or crabs claw

75. They wash them & put up their heeles close to their nates & tye y<sup>m</sup> downe to a board & 'tis thought is y<sup>e</sup> cause they never are bursten. & when fowle wipe y<sup>m</sup> with mosse & tye them up againe & carry y<sup>m</sup> at y<sup>r</sup> backs

76. Suckle a yeere co<sup>m</sup>only & feed y<sup>m</sup>

77 with any thing y<sup>e</sup> child will eat & usually with clams. 78 Never but if the mother dye: the men give them oysters to suck. (79) They have many poysons & are expert in y<sup>r</sup> use. The women often poyson y<sup>m</sup> selves & children: if y<sup>r</sup> husbands will not owne them.

80. Roots & herbs

81. It's a question not fit to be spoken to or inquired of y<sup>m</sup>. pardon this Query for any answer

82. what they please.

83 a sort of football & dancing & a kind of dice made of plum-stones before the English came.

[Third page: fol. 236 a]

[84. b]ut a string to tye [ ] Now some begin  
to [ y<sup>e</sup>] English 85. Skins turnd [ ] & now are much  
affected to [ ] few truck in . or any blewes.

86. Use hot baths on all occasions by the water side, heat a stone & put it into y<sup>e</sup> hole where they sit & in the height of y<sup>r</sup> sweat leap or run into the water (87. no other (88 none at all, (89 Seldome or never wash but greaze y<sup>r</sup> faces & when mourners black them

90. physick is practisd, by y<sup>r</sup> priests & conjurers who 1<sup>st</sup> conjure to knowe whether they shall dye. 91. We think not 92. all in Generall but 1<sup>st</sup> they inquire of y<sup>r</sup> oracle & if that saies they shall dye, they use nothing. 93. none 94. no more judgment then a horse. 95. No thing at all: onely w<sup>t</sup> their oracle informes y<sup>m</sup> being usually a rattle-snake, a crow or a hawke or &c

96. Of simples: herbs or roots in water & drink it

97. plants onely, roots chiefly: they have one excellent root, called by us a snakeroot but is indeed no other then what Parkinson Trib. 2. c. 25. §. 6. calls. *Helleborus niger Saniculæ folio, major.* pag. 214. ed. 1640. w<sup>ch</sup> they use in decoctions & truly is an excellent Alexipharmacon in all sudden & dangerous fevers, to drive poyson from the heart

98. Little or none, but Rakoons oile for aches 99. none. 100. Nor milk till the English came 101 None at all; I think they know nothing of it 102. They use a root called now by them since the English came by y<sup>e</sup> name of Sleep & smoake it among y<sup>r</sup> Tobacco

103. They use a root for philters: but will not tell us, what is its name or discover it. (104 None at all (105. They pownd y<sup>e</sup> herb or root & boile it in water & when in hast, use it cold.

106. None either purgative or vomiting, onely as s<sup>d</sup> before of decoctions. 107. None at all but when they poyson psons. onely y<sup>r</sup> pow-wawes use the bark of a tree to vomit psons 7 daies before they are admitted into that order. If they cannot beare their poysonous vomits, they dye & as for y<sup>r</sup> usuall physick they use nothing but roots & barks. & specially of a certaine sort of alder, w<sup>ch</sup> gives a notable vomit

108. None at all. but Cure the poxe easily with a root w<sup>ch</sup> they will not tell

109. If any, in fevers. Not consumptions They have no dropsies nor Quartan agues

110. No rule at all, let it work as 'twill

111. by chewing what root they use, & w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> masht root, anoint y<sup>r</sup> joints & some they swallowe downe, No plague in this Country blessed be God onely violent & somewhat virulent fevers<sup>1</sup>

112. Snakeroot. w<sup>ch</sup> I s<sup>d</sup> befor[e] is y<sup>e</sup> same with y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Hellebor.

<sup>1</sup> First column of third page ends.

113. In short: many trifling me[dicines] none rational, or worth me[ntion].

114. Very rarely. If a Pow-w[aw de]signe such a thing. & can spy the [man] make water, he digs a hole in y<sup>e</sup> s[and] & puts a herb into it & y<sup>e</sup> man shall never make water more. They have many evil charmes but not knowne to us or as to y<sup>e</sup> cure of diseases

115. Some skill they have, but very little manuall opation.

116. Never let bloud (117. None, but scarify a place with sucking

118. None at all.

June 25, 1690. at Mount Hope.

I rec<sup>d</sup> most of this intelligence From one M<sup>r</sup> Arnold a practitioner in Physick of good request in Rhode Iland, who hath conversed much with the Indians

Yo<sup>r</sup>s to serve you in any  
X<sup>aa</sup> Service to my power  
& leisure: pray divine  
successe on yo<sup>r</sup> labours  
S<sup>a</sup>. Lee ∴

One thing I would annexe of a rare sort of Candle found out last y. 1689 w<sup>ch</sup> is made of a gumous matter gatherd by boiling of y<sup>e</sup> berries of a litle bush or shrub w<sup>ch</sup> they here call bay berries but I take it to be a sort of myrtle but y<sup>e</sup> leaves are deciduous in sharp winters. It is very odoriferous & lasting & fit for students. I have made some & might have sent you a candle for your Epictetus Studies: but I feare as yet they will saile into France if you send us not some Frigots to convey them & us to you: yt may be of great comfort to y<sup>e</sup> Country under y<sup>r</sup> many dangers & likewise I should hope to see you by y<sup>e</sup> leave of o<sup>r</sup> gracious God but I dare not yet venture in ships of no force, who run into S. Maclovio<sup>1</sup> to see yt port: The Ld d<sup>d</sup> us. —

y<sup>e</sup> <sup>2</sup> wick of silkgrasse spun like cotton serves for candles  
have y<sup>e</sup> Loadstone 7 mile frō Boston.

There is a root w<sup>ch</sup> they call Makerell & is singular in gripings of y<sup>e</sup> belly I have seen it dry: but not as yet, growing.

Galingale. Some judge it a sort of wild Gentian.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. Maclovius, i. e. St. Malo in Brittany.

<sup>2</sup> MS. obscure.

<sup>3</sup> The arrangement is confusing. See the facsimile. "Some judge it a sort of wild Gentian" appears to belong with the remark about "Makerell."

[Fourth Page: Fol. 236 b]

For the very Leaped Doctor  
Nehemiah Grew M.D. at  
his Lodging in Fleetstreet.

London.

Capt. Saywell I pray inclose  
it in yo<sup>rs</sup> when you write to  
him, with my service.<sup>1</sup>

Recd these Observations

Jan<sup>y</sup> 24. 169<sup>0</sup><sub>1</sub><sup>2</sup>

## II

[Samuel Sewall to Nehemiah Grew] -  
[First Page: Sloane MS. 4067, fol. 140 a]

[I] <sup>4</sup> recd y<sup>e</sup> Reu<sup>d</sup> Mr. Lee's Observations but y[<sup>e</sup>  
lett]er y<sup>e</sup> inclos'd them was pleas'd to ask my [adul]ice of th[  
] that by my experience of y<sup>e</sup> American N[ati]ves in t[  
] Travail, and by the Information of [o]thers, I find the [  
] Eye & Hair; both black: excepting [t]he hoary head  
pro[ ] of y<sup>e</sup> Foreskin, 'tis the Indians custom to flay  
off the h[air from the head of] such of their Enemies as they kill in Fight.  
I have sent s[ome of the scalps to] Charles Morton a Physician who  
lodges at K. W<sup>m</sup>'s Head in Bp Gate [ ] y<sup>e</sup> Left hand as you goe to  
y<sup>e</sup> Gate. N<sup>o</sup> 74. The Indians now use English pipes <sup>5</sup> [for] y<sup>e</sup> most  
part, sometimes Stone, or Wood garded in y<sup>e</sup> inside with Pewter I  
[know] not what shift they might formerly make; as they used Axes of  
Stone of w[hich] I have one by me, and till'd their Ground with y<sup>e</sup> shells

<sup>1</sup> In Lee's hand.

<sup>2</sup> In Sewall's hand.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript is tattered and soiled. Many words and letters have disappeared or are illegible. I have indicated such places by brackets, supplying what is missing as well as I could. A careful scrutiny of the manuscript enabled me, in August, 1909, to decipher some things that are unreadable in a photograph.

<sup>4</sup> The leaf containing the text of the letter has lost the upper corners and has also suffered some mutilation on the upper and the right-hand edge. At the beginning, however, only the salutation and the first word or so (perhaps *I*) seem to have disappeared.

<sup>5</sup> The word *pipes* is practically legible. The reading is established beyond question by Lee's reply to No. 74 (see p. 150, above).

of Fish. At N[arra]ganset (formerly y<sup>e</sup> chief place of Indians in N E) One gave me an account [of] a Dance held by a great woman, who had met with many Adversities in [y<sup>e</sup>] Loss of near Relations &c A Day & place was apointed y<sup>t</sup> so persons far [& near] might be present, Considerable Provision made for Entertainment of the[m a]f[ter] yr fashion. When the Company was met, she made several Speeches to them importing her former Calamity, and hopes of future Prosperity, [ ] now and then danc'd a considerable time, gave many Gifts, and had a new Name given to herself. When a Maid's Menses are first taken notice of, a little house, or rather Tent call'd a Wigwam, is provided for her, [and] she is kept apart by herself. The Hair upon the foreheads of the young Females is cut in such a fashion, from time to time, that one may defie what form Nature has plac'd them in. N<sup>o</sup> 63. Mr. Lee lives at Mount Hope or Bristow, a place fifty miles off, upon the Sea, which bears south[erly or] souwest; whereas the Sea is to y<sup>e</sup> Eastward of us. So that what is sp[o]ke of the Souwest Wind, must be interpreted of that place: for [ ] 'tis a pleasant wind: West, & Norwest very Serene. And hardly any [are] bad with us from South East to North. Our North-East brings the [most] uncomfortable Storms, so that 'tis almost become a Proverb, *North East, Neüher good for Man nor Beast*. 'Twould be a vain thing to goe about to dissemble the severity of our Winters; only most ancient [inha]bitants judge there is an abatement of their former rigor; the clear[ing of] y<sup>e</sup> Ground of Wood being the cause of it, as is conjectur'd. Our H[arbour] bejng near y<sup>e</sup> Sea, and being Salt Water, is not easily frozen. Capt. W[ear<sup>1</sup> came] away from Cows y<sup>e</sup> first Dec<sup>r</sup> and arriv'd\* here y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> of Jan<sup>r</sup> [ ] open Chānel, thō have had a

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[The following remark is written in the left-hand margin of the page:]

[\* T]wo more Ships are since arriv'd y<sup>t</sup> sail'd from Plim<sup>o</sup> xr. 19.<sup>2</sup> bringing supplies of Arms and Amūnition [in] which y<sup>e</sup> mercifull Goodness of God is much to be acknowledged, considering our great want, and diff[culty] of the Winter Season.

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<sup>1</sup> Part of the *W* is preserved. The following entry in Sewall's Diary (i. 340) supplies the captain's name: — "Satterday, Jan. 24, 1690<sup>o</sup>. Wear comes in; came from Cows Dec<sup>r</sup> 1." Captain Wear is several times mentioned by Sewall (Diary, i. 277, 357; Letter-Book, i. 43, 44, 45, 46, 118, 128).

<sup>2</sup> I. c., December 19. One of these two ships was evidently that whose coming is recorded by Sewall in his Diary, February 2, 1690-1 (i. 340): — "Capt. Brown arrives at Marblehead, came from Plimouth 19<sup>th</sup> December." For Capt. William Brown see Sewall's Letter-Book, ii. 107, 154, 157.

very severe Winter for Frost & [ ] thing that makes y<sup>e</sup> Harbour refuse the Impositions of y<sup>e</sup> Cold, [is the Tide,] which swells higher than ordinary when the Perige and Change or Full [of y<sup>e</sup> Moon] are coincident, by which means (especially if the wind blow hard) the Ic[e is bro]ken & driven out to Sea. Yet somtimes when many Accidents meet, 'tis fr[ozen] so hard, that a Cart and Oxen may pass over loaden. We have some Compen[sation] in a pleasant Serenity of y<sup>e</sup> Air, and moderation of our Day[e]s [ ] being about nine hours long from Sun to Sun: for Boston is not [so norther]ly as 42<sup>d</sup> & 30<sup>ms</sup> 'Tis built on an Island & Peninsula extended in [length] from N. East to Souwest about a Mile & half, from the Ferry to the For[tification]. The Buildings reach but little more than a Mile and quarter and more thinly at y<sup>e</sup> South-end. My House stands just a Mile from y<sup>e</sup> Fe[r]ry.] The Continent affords great plenty of Wood & Coal: but y<sup>e</sup> Coal in y<sup>e</sup> [ ] Dominion, and for that reason, & bec. make not so sweet a fi[re it is] not much used yet <sup>1</sup>

[Second Page: fol. 140 v<sup>o</sup>] <sup>2</sup>

[h]as lat[ely gone t]horow the Tow[n]  
 a sor [e mor]tal Fever in Town & Country. I [ ]  
 f two [of] our Burying Places. There are tw[o]  
 [Ru]mney-Marsh [&] Muddy-River w<sup>ch</sup> belong to Boston  
 least some of y<sup>e</sup> dead at Boston; the latter at Roxbury,  
 [a]lmost compassed with Salt; yet we have very good  
 Wells of Fresh Water. But I shall tire you  
 [ ] th[ings] y<sup>t</sup> are of so remote concernment to you. My humble  
 [Servi]ce to Doctor Grew of Coventry,<sup>3</sup> if living. I am  
 Sir, your humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
 Samuel Sewall.

[Fourth page, fol. 141 v<sup>o</sup>]

[Address]

For

Doct<sup>r</sup> Nehemia Grew  
 in Racket Court  
 near Shoe-Lane  
 in Fleet-street  
 London

<sup>1</sup> Here ends the first page (fol. 140 v<sup>o</sup>). There is nothing lacking on this page after the word *yet*, which closes a paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> The text of this page is so badly mutilated that it has seemed best to print it line for line. Some of the readings are not quite certain. The letter ends near the top of the page, all below the signature being blank. The third page is entirely blank.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Obadiah Grew had died on October 22, 1689.

## NOTES ON LEE'S LETTER

## THE COLONY AND HARVARD COLLEGE

1. "Instituted in 1642." A manifest error. The College was founded in 1636. John Harvard's benefaction was in 1638, and in that year the name Harvard College was decided on, and the first class was formed. 1642 is the date of the Act establishing the Overseers of Harvard College.

2. "The ferry betweene Boston & Charlestowne is granted to the colledge," Massachusetts Colony Records, October 7, 1640 (i. 304). See also Quincy, History of Harvard University, ii. 271.

3. "About 40 or 50 students." Twenty-two persons received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1690; eight in 1691; six in 1692; fifteen in 1693. Increase Mather was Rector of the College when Lee wrote.

4. The fourth reply must refer, not to Harvard College, but to the medical profession, which was not organized in corporate form (like the Royal College of Physicians in London) or subject to any fixed control. This appears to be the meaning of "no corporation in a strict form." What follows under the same head and under No. 5 bears out this interpretation: "No degrees in physick or licentiates regular," etc. The incorporation of Harvard College took place in 1650, and the Charter of that year, with the Appendix of 1657, remains in force.

5. This means, apparently, that physicians do not have to be approved by authority before they may practise. If their *patients* approve, says Mr. Lee jocosely, that is all that is required.

6. "In their owne pia and dura mater" is a jocose way of saying "in their own brain." Cf. "One of thy kin has a most weak pia mater" (Twelfth Night, i. 5. 123); "Whatever piety your Fathers pretended in the *Pia Mater* of their Brains, to be sure it is Ardled into impious matter of Deuilism, in their Childrens crack'd Crowns" ([Joshua Scottow,] A Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony<sup>1</sup>). What follows in the letter is from Juvenal's Seventh Satire, verses 158-160:

Culpa docentis

Scilicet arguitur quod laeva in parte mamillae

Nil salit Arcadio iuveni.

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<sup>1</sup> Boston, 1694 (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iv. 317).

9. Dr. Grew had asked, it seems, whether the apothecaries were subject to any inspection. In London, it was the duty of the Apothecaries' Company to examine the drugs and medicines kept for sale and to destroy such as were unsound or adulterated. The College of Physicians acted as Censors of the apothecaries. Thus Dr. Merrett remarks in 1669: — "Whereas *Apothecaries* are bound to shew publicly to the *Censors* of the *Colledg*, and the *Master* and *Wardens* of their Company, *Mithridate*, *Diascordium*, *Alkermes*, &c. Yet for all this some of them privately make a great deal more of the Composition then is shewed of unsound Drugs, and some without any view at all."<sup>1</sup> The records of the Company show numerous cases of penalties imposed for selling unsound medicines or for compounding medicines "without public view." Thus in 1619 one Eason was fined more than £6 for such offences, and his "Methridatie" and "London Treacle" were seized and destroyed.<sup>2</sup> In 1624 the Company viewed a "dispensacon of Methridate."<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Dr. Grew's question applied particularly to this complicated medicine, to the proper preparation of which great importance was attached. Mr. Lee replies, with characteristic jocosity, that the Boston apothecaries import their mithridate from London and therefore may be said to make it "without inspection."

The New London Dispensatory describes "*Mithridatium Damocratis*, The Mithridate of Damocrates, taken from the Greek Copy." There are 48 ingredients, almost all vegetable, besides canary wine and clarified honey. "Make an Electuary." Salmon (pp. 658-659) gives a whole column to an enumeration of the diseases for which it is good, including the plague, madness, wind, leprosy, cancer, gout, and dysentery. It "cures the bitings or stings of any poisonous Creature, expels Poison."<sup>4</sup> Hence, of course, its name, from the Pontic king Mithridates VI.

10. This passage involves a botanical joke. Mr. Lee means that,

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Merrett, *A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses committed by Apothecaries*, 1669, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. B. Barrett, *History of the Society of Apothecaries of London*, 1905, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Barrett, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Pharmacopœia Londinensis*. Or, the New London Dispensatory. In VI. Books. Translated into English . . . The Sixth Edition, Corrected and Amended. By William Salmon, Professor of Physick. London, 1702, lib. iv. cap. 22, p. 658.

if a physician is unsuccessful in curing disease, patients will have nothing to do with him. This he expresses by saying that such luckless practitioners are punished with "noli me tangere," to which he adds the old botanical name of the plant known as "noli me tangere" or "wild mercury" or "quick-in-hand," — *Persicaria siliquosa*. The phrase "to snap at them" is explained by the fact that the pods of this plant snap open at a touch, so that the seeds spring out. John Parkinson describes the plant in his *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640),<sup>1</sup> a standard work with which Mr. Lee was familiar. After the "flowers are past," writes Parkinson, "there come up in their places, small long joynted pods, hanging downewards, striped as it were all the length of them, wherein is contained small long and somewhat flat seede, of a duskie colour, which is so hardly gathered, in regard that even before it be thorough ripe, if it be but very lightly handled, the pods will breake, and twine themselves a little, as the pods of some certaine pulses will doe, and the seed will leape forth, yea for the most part, the very shaking of the branches by the winde, causeth the pods to breake open, and shed their seede on the ground, where the ripest may best be gathered if they be taken in time."

11. "*Licentia deteriores*." Another pun. The doctors have no *licenses*, and by reason of this very *license* (or lack of restraint) they are the worse. The phrase is from a well-known passage in Terence, *Heautontimorumenos*, iii. 1. 74 (483): "*Nam deteriores omnes sumus licentia*."

13. The "pretty hospital upon the common for the poor" was the almshouse, "ordered by the town in 1660, built, later, on or near the present site of the Athenæum," and "rebuilt in 1685-6 (after a fire)." Since Lee wrote in 1690, he was of course referring to the second structure. The Boston almshouse is thought to have been the earliest in the country.<sup>2</sup>

15. Dr. Grew had evidently asked whether physicians had the right to compound and dispense their own prescriptions, or whether the privilege of dispensing was confined to the apothecaries (compare

<sup>1</sup> Tribe ii. chap. 64, p. 297 (cf. p. 296, fig. 5).

<sup>2</sup> See the remarks of our late associate, Dr. James Bourne Ayer, on Boston at the Time of the Battle of Bunker Hill (Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1905, pp. 35-36). Dr. Ayer cites Robert W. Heberd, *The Charities Review*, January, 1901, x. 515.

the note on No. 9, above). Mr. Lee replies that they may themselves manufacture medicines, or buy them and dispense them, or send their patients to the apothecaries with prescriptions to be filled. On February 20, 1721-2, William Douglass, M.D., wrote from Boston to Cadwallader Colden:—"We abound with Practitioners, though no other graduate than myself, we have fourteen Apothecary shops in Boston; all our Practitioners dispense their own medicines."<sup>1</sup>

16. The question was apparently whether, in case the apothecaries practised, they confined themselves to medicine, or included surgery as well. In the disputes between the London physicians and the apothecaries, the Barber-Surgeons' Company had also become involved.<sup>2</sup>

17-18. These remarks about barbers and "tooth-drawing at pleasure" make it clear that Dr. Grew had based his inquiries on the state of things in London. There are traces of an unincorporated guild or fraternity of barbers (including barber-surgeons) as early as 1308.<sup>3</sup> In the same century there existed a similar unincorporated guild or fraternity of surgeons.<sup>4</sup> In 1462 the former was incorporated by royal charter;<sup>5</sup> the latter continued to exist on the old basis until 1540, when the incorporated Company of Barbers (including barber-surgeons) and the unincorporated guild of surgeons were united by an Act of Parliament, which also provided that no surgeon should practise barbery and that no barber should practise surgery except the drawing of teeth.<sup>6</sup> A new charter was granted to this united Company of Barbers and Surgeons in 1605 and in 1629.<sup>7</sup> In 1684 all previous charters were surrendered, and in the following year were superseded by a fourth charter,<sup>8</sup> which was in force when Mr. Lee wrote. These successive charters, however, had made no substantial change in the make-up of the Company, which still consisted of both barbers and the surgeons, although in 1684 certain surgeons of the Company had petitioned the king to incorporate the surgeons as a separate body.<sup>9</sup> In 1745 the growing animosity between the two

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Samuel A. Green, 2 Massachusetts Historical Proceedings, i. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Barrett, *History of the Society of Apothecaries of London*, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> Austin T. Young, *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London*, 1890, pp. 23, 27-28.

<sup>4</sup> P. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 52 ff.

<sup>6</sup> P. 80.

<sup>7</sup> Pp. 112, 129.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 146-147.

<sup>9</sup> P. 146.

classes of members led to an Act of Parliament which dissolved the Company, made a separate Company of Surgeons, and reincorporated the barbers as Barbers only.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Lee informs his correspondent that in Boston the barbers are not associated with the surgeons ("barbing is a trade by itself") and that anybody may draw teeth.

19. Apparently Dr. Grew had asked if there was anything in the Colony that corresponded to the Apothecaries' Company in London. Mr. Lee replies with a pun, — no company except when they meet at the tavern. "Concerned by authority" seems to mean "taken cognizance of (or regulated) by the magistrates or the laws." The Latin quotation is from the Third Satire of Persius, v. 23: "Udum et molle lutum es." The poet tells a young man that he is still soft and moist clay, that is, that he needs to be formed on the potter's wheel.

20. "Apprentices . . . please." This still refers to the apothecaries. The question of an apothecary's right to practise medicine ("to visit whom he pleases") was of much interest in England in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The Worshipful Society of the Apothecaries of London was incorporated in 1617. Their charter separated them from the Grocers, with whom they had been united by a previous charter in 1606. The apothecaries were not empowered to prescribe medicines, but only to dispense them, and the Royal College of Physicians had certain rights of inspection, in order that purity of drugs might be ensured and abuses avoided. In the latter half of the century, however, many apothecaries became general practitioners, and this occasioned a dispute with the physicians.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Dr. Jonathan Goddard, F.R.S. and Professor of Physic at Gresham College, advocated the preparation of medicines by the physicians themselves, complaining of the evil condition into which the profession had fallen on account of the taking up of medical practice by the apothecaries. "If Patients," writes Dr. Goddard, "understood their interest, they would take no such satisfaction, as they seem to do, in the Visits of Apothecaries; but rather wish them in their Shops to make, or oversee the making of their Medicines pre-

<sup>1</sup> Young, pp. 154-162.

<sup>2</sup> Barrett, *History of the Society of Apothecaries of London*, pp. xvi-xvii, 1 ff, 82-84.

scribed by Physicians, which are left to their Servants, many times raw and slovenly Apprentices, while the Masters spend their time abroad, Physician-like, in Visiting.”<sup>1</sup>

These differences were aggravated by the celebrated Dispensary Dispute, which began in 1675 and lasted through the century, though receiving its quietus on the publication of Dr. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Garth’s celebrated poem in 1699.<sup>2</sup>

When Dr. Grew wrote his inquiries about the condition of the medical profession in New England, the Apothecaries and the College of Physicians were on by no means good terms. It is significant that, in the very year of Mr. Lee’s reply (1690), an attempt was made to arrange an accommodation by which the physicians were not to keep shops for the dispensing of drugs and the apothecaries were to refrain from practising.<sup>3</sup>

A curious passage, giving an account of the growth of the practice of medicine among the apothecaries, may be quoted from a tract by another London physician, Dr. Christopher Merrett, F.R.S.:<sup>4</sup>

The next thing to be treated of, shall be the ways of *Apothecaries* creeping into practice, and their unfitness thereunto. As to the first, heretofore when they were Members of the Company of Grocers, and dispersed in place, as well as in counsel, they then were wholly subordinate to the *Physicians*, only keeping in their Shops, and faithfully making the prescriptions they received from the *Physician*, and when made, sending them to the Patient by their men (as they still continue to do in Foreign Countries) and not committing the preparation to raw Boys, or Apprentices, which is the true interest of the Patient they should do here likewise. But in process of time *Physicians* in acute diseases having taught them somewhat, sent them to visit their Patients, to give them the best account they could of the estate of their health, and effect of their Medicines. And of later years some *Physicians* took them along with them in their Visits, whereby they acquired a little smattering of diseases, by

<sup>1</sup> A Discourse Setting forth the Unhappy Condition of the Practice of Physick in London (London, 1670), p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Barrett, pp. 94-95, 113-118.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 111-112.

<sup>4</sup> A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses committed by Apothecaries, London, 1669, pp. 43-44 (2d ed., 1670, pp. 50-51). See also Merrett’s tract entitled Self-Conviction, published in 1670. [Henry Stubbe] replied to Merrett in *Medice cura teipsum! or The Apothecaries Plea*, London, 1671. All these tracts are in the Harvard College Library.

which means, and their continual officiousness, they insinuated themselves into Families, and by applying (right or wrong) the terms of Art they had learned from the *Physicians*, they made people believe they had acquired some skill in the Art, and afterwards began to venture a little at practice, and but until these 10 years last past kept themselves within some bounds and limits; but since that time have daily more and more inroached upon our Profession, being assisted by a greater familiarity of conversation with younger *Physicians*. And in the Plague time (most *Physicians* being out of Town) they took upon them the whole Practice of Physick,<sup>1</sup> which ever since they have continued, being much helped also therein by the dispersing of *Physicians* into places unknown to their Patients, by the Fire, but above all by the burning of the *Colldg*, by means whereof their Government and view of their Shops<sup>2</sup> have been omitted, insomuch that now their<sup>3</sup> past restraint having insinuated and (as they think) rooted themselves by the aforesaid Artifices.

21. The surgeons are neither associated in a single company with the barbers, as in London (see Nos. 17-18), nor have they any "fraternity or guild" of their own as they had in London before they were united with the barbers in 1540. "Guelt" involves another pun. *Gelt*, *ghelt*, or *guelt* (from the German and Dutch *Geld*) was a common word for "money" or "pay" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

26. The Avery mentioned by Mr. Lee is, beyond a doubt, Dr. William Avery of Dedham and Boston. He was admitted a townsman of Dedham in 1651,<sup>4</sup> and, on February 16, he and his wife were received into the First Church there.<sup>5</sup> In March he got permission to set up his smith's shop.<sup>6</sup> This agrees with Lee's remark that the Avery to whom he refers had formerly practised the "ars vete-

<sup>1</sup> This point is handled in a rather gingerly manner. It was notorious that most of the regular practitioners had left their patients in the lurch while the plague raged. In the second edition (1670) Dr. Merrett omitted the damaging parenthesis "most *Physicians* being out of town" (p. 51).

<sup>2</sup> That is, the inspection of the apothecaries' shops by the Censors of the Royal College of Physicians. See No. 9.

<sup>3</sup> I. e., *they're*. The second edition reads, "now they are past all restraint" (p. 51).

<sup>4</sup> Dedham Records, iii. 132.

<sup>5</sup> Church Records, in Dedham Records, ii. 32 (cf. 35). His name is given as "—— Avery" and "brother Avery," but there can be no question of his identity.

<sup>6</sup> Dedham Records, iii. 179.

rinaria," i. e. farriery. William Avery's name occurs frequently in the records of Dedham, often with the title of Sergeant. In 1669 he was Deputy to the General Court.<sup>1</sup> In 1673 he was appointed Lieutenant of the Dedham Military Company.<sup>2</sup> In 1675 his name appears in the records with the title of "Mr.;"<sup>3</sup> so also in 1679.<sup>4</sup> When he began to practise medicine we do not know; but his name bears the title "Doc" in the town records for 1676,<sup>5</sup> and thereafter *Doc*, *Do*, or *Doct* is its common prefix.<sup>6</sup> On January 1, 1678, he obtained permission "to fell timber of the town common, for a frame of a house to carry to Boston, provided he paid to the use of the town in money two shillings per ton, not exceeding seven ton."<sup>7</sup> This gives us an approximate date for his removal to Boston. In 1680 he offered the town of Dedham £60 for the encouragement of a Latin School,<sup>8</sup> and in the same year there is the following important entry in the records of that town:

Cap<sup>t</sup> Dan Fisher make a return of the trust Comited to him selfe and En Tho Fullar of a Some of mony of sixty pounds giuen to the Towne and the Improument for the benifit of a Latine Schoole

The returne is as foloweth be it Here by declared that I Will Auery Phisision now resedent in Boston: some times of the Church of Dedham do out of my Intire loue to the: Church and Towne: thier frely giue the full Some of sixty pound in mony thier of to be wholly for the incoragmt of a latin Schoole as shall be from time to tim so ordered by the Elders or Elder of that Church and select men for the time being desirous y<sup>t</sup> others whom god shall make able will adde thier vnto that a latine Schoole may generally be maintayned thier and this to stand vpon record in thier towne Booke.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dedham Records, iv. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. part ii. p. 567.

<sup>3</sup> Dedham Records, v. 34, 36.

<sup>4</sup> v. 76.

<sup>5</sup> v. 41.

<sup>6</sup> v. 43, 45, 47, 48, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 65, 70, 73, 83, 89.

<sup>7</sup> "Grant liberty to Do Auery to fell timber of the Towne Com for a fram of a House to cary to Boston prouid he pay to the vse of the Town in mony 2<sup>s</sup> per tune not exeding 7 tune" (Dedham Records, v. 63).

<sup>8</sup> "Doc Will Auery doth tender mony sixty pounds for the incoragment of a latine Schoole in this Towne prouided thier be such incoragmt to a choole as may be subtole of the Townes part and to that end to treet with him refering to his conditions we Chose Cap<sup>t</sup> Dan Fisher and En Tho Fullar" (v. 98).

<sup>9</sup> v. 100-101.

In March, 1681, there is a further record about Dr. Avery's benefaction, as follows: — "it being proposed to the Town whether they will allow twenty two pounds by the year to a latten schoolmaster whereof seaven pounds shall be mony besides the incom of that 60 pounds given by Docter Avery, it was voated in the afirmitive."<sup>1</sup> And there are other entries relating to this same gift.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Lee says that "Dr Avery was a great inquirer and had skill in Helmont & chemicall physick." By a lucky chance, two letters that show his inquiring mind and his addiction to chemistry are preserved in the Works of the famous natural philosopher, Robert Boyle, to whom they were addressed.<sup>3</sup> They are dated at Boston, November 9, 1682, and May 1, 1684. From them it appears that he was in hot pursuit of the alkahest or universal solvent. He refers to Starkey's Pyrotechny,<sup>4</sup> and mentions<sup>5</sup> "the worshipful Mr. Dudley<sup>6</sup> and "my worthy friend Mr. Thomas Brattle."<sup>7</sup> In the second letter he speaks of a son "about thirty years of age" as also a "practitioner in physic, and an assiduous labourer at the chemical fire."<sup>8</sup> This son was Jonathan Avery, of Dedham, who first appears in the town records in 1681 (with the title of Doctor),<sup>9</sup> and often thereafter.<sup>10</sup> Under date of December 16, 1701, are mentioned "the Heires of Jonath Avery Deceased."<sup>11</sup>

Dr. William Avery died in Boston, March 18, 1687.<sup>12</sup> His will is preserved in the Suffolk County Probate Files, No. 1526. The testator describes himself as "resident in Boston," as "practitioner in physick," and as "aged about 61 years." This was in 1683, for the will is dated on the 15th of October in that year. It is signed *William*

<sup>1</sup> Dedham Records, v. 109.

<sup>2</sup> v. 148-149, 367 (cf. v. 169).

<sup>3</sup> Boyle's Works, ed. Birch, v. 614-617.

<sup>4</sup> This is a once famous treatise by George Stirk of the Harvard Class of 1646 (who changed his name to Starkey): — Pyrotechny Asserted and Illustrated, London, 1658. Cf. Publications of this Society, xiii. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Boyle's Works, v. 616.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Dudley, 1647-1720 (H. C. 1665).

<sup>7</sup> 1658-1713 (H. C. 1676).

<sup>8</sup> Boyle's Works, v. 617.

<sup>9</sup> Dedham Records, v. 114 (cf. 116).

<sup>10</sup> v. 121, 124, 128, 131, 136, 145, 146, 160, 163, 165, 166, 174, 178, 186, 194, 200, 279, 365.

<sup>11</sup> v. 295.

<sup>12</sup> "Dr. W<sup>m</sup> Avery dies" (Sewall's Diary, i. 170, March 18, 1686-7).

*Avery*, and has two witnesses. Below their signatures is the acknowledgment in the presence of *three* witnesses, dated March 13, 1686-7. The will mentions the doctor's wife (Mary), and his four children, William, Robert, and Jonathan Avery, and Mary Tisdale; also his sons-in-law, William Sumner and Benjamin Dyer. There is an interesting bequest to charity which shows that the Doctor was interested in mines, as befitted a loyal student of alchemy:

Jt. Concerning my part in several mines, my Will is, that after all necessary charges already laid out or to be laid out upon them be equally satisfied, then the profit or income of them while my wife lives, shall be divided to her & to my four children William, Robert & Jonathan Avery & Mary Tisdale, & after my Wife's decease shall be divided among my said children: And my will is that in all these divisions my son william shall have a double share . . . Further my [Will] is that a third part of all the profit y<sup>t</sup> shall arise to any & all of my children from the said mines shall be improved for publick & charitable uses according to their own discretion. And my will is that it shall so remain from time to time with them their heirs or successors, that, all necessary charges deducted, a third part of the profit of y<sup>e</sup> mines aforesaid shall be for publick & charitable use.

All medical books and apparatus are bequeathed to the Doctor's son Jonathan. "Jt. My Will is y<sup>t</sup> my son Jonathan shall have my two Stills, all my Physick books & instruments, he allowing twenty pound to my executors for y<sup>e</sup> same." The three sons are named as executors, but on May 26, 1687, they filed a document renouncing their executorship. This, with the will, is all that the Suffolk Files contain. The will is docketed as taken to the Probate Office by William and Robert Avery on May 26, 1687.

The will of Dr. Jonathan Avery is also in the Suffolk Probate Files, No. 1856. He describes himself as "Jonathan Avery, resident in Dedham . . . Practitioner in Physick, & aged about Thirty-five years." The will is dated February 18, 1689, and was recorded in May, 1691. The inventory, which is the only other document in the Files, is dated May 13, 1691, and was sworn to on May 27. The will mentions the Doctor's wife Sibyll, and his three daughters, Sibyll, Margaret, and Dorothy, all under age. His brother, William Avery, is also mentioned. The inventory values his "Bookes Devinitie & Piscall & other small books" at £5, and his "Chyrurgion Instruments" at £1.

## THE INDIANS

1. A *flake* is "a lock or band of hair not twisted or plaited." The following passages (among those quoted in the Oxford Dictionary) make the meaning of the term clear: — "Will you have . . . your mustachoes sharpe at the ends, like shomakers aules, or hanging downe to your mouth like goates flakes?" (Lyly, *Midas*, iii. 2, ed. Fairholt, ii. 29-30); "The flakes of hair which naturally suggest lightning" (Steele, *Guardian*, No. 86); "His hair was flaxen, and fell in long flakes upon his shoulders" (Captain Marryat, *The Phantom Ship*, chap. viii.). The word is the same as the second part of *snowflake*, and King Lear plays on the two meanings when he speaks of his hoary locks as "these white flakes" (iv. 7. 10).

Josselyn, *Rarities*, p. 99, remarks: "The Men are somewhat Horse Fac'd, and generally Faucious, *i. e.* without Beards." Cf. Smith, p. 19; Wood, part ii. chap. 4, p. 55.

3. "Dank-faced" I do not understand. The only recorded meaning of *dank* seems to be the ordinary one, — "damp."

Mr. Lee's views concerning the origin of the American Indians, though not original, show that he was abreast of his time in ethnology. He thinks that their origin is twofold, — that they "came partly from the African Phœnicians, as may be seen by Diod. Siculus, and partly from the Eastern Tartars, it being as yet questionable whether Japan be an island or joined to the northwest of America." As to the latter point, he shows his confidence in future discovery by adding a little tag from the *Iliad*, ii. 119 (*καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πνθίσθαι*), which, in his special application of it here, signifies "And 'tis for posterity to ascertain."<sup>1</sup>

The passage from Diodorus Siculus which Mr. Lee has in mind consists of the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of the Fifth Book, in which Diodorus describes a great island in the Atlantic, several days' voyage to the westward of Libya (Africa), and tells how it was discovered by certain Phœnician explorers who were blown far out to sea while skirting the African coast after they had passed through the Pillars of Hercules. Both the Diodorus passage and the question

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lee writes his Greek with the ligatures and contractions then customary, which I have not tried to reproduce in type. By slips of the pen he gives *ἐσσομένοισι* as *ἐσσομένοισι* and accents *πνθίσθαι* on the first syllable.

whether Japan is connected with America are discussed in Georg Horn's monograph, *De Originibus Americanis*,<sup>1</sup>—a little book which once enjoyed a well-merited reputation, and with which Mr. Lee (like Cotton Mather<sup>2</sup> and Samuel Sewall<sup>3</sup>) was undoubtedly familiar.

The theory that America joined Asia is well known to have been continuously entertained by geographers, with ever-varying degrees of favor, from the time of Columbus until well into the nineteenth century. Even the discovery of Bering Strait in 1728 and Cook's survey of it in 1778, did not put an end to what we may call the Asiatic theory. As late as 1819, Captain James Burney, who had been one of Cook's officers, and whose moderation and expert knowledge were alike remarkable, took pains to point out that there was as yet no "satisfactory proof of a separation of *America* and *Asia* having been demonstrated by an actual navigation performed." It was still quite conceivable that the two continents might unite somewhere farther north. "The sea North of *Bering's Strait*," argues Burney, "... has in some respects the character of a mediterranean sea," and in his chart he inserts, just above the seventieth parallel, the legend "Indications of land to the north of the line of soundings." On the whole, he does not hesitate to maintain that "there is cause to suppose *Asia* and *America* to be contiguous, or parts of one and the same continent."<sup>4</sup>

When Lee wrote, most geographers believed that Asia was separated from North America by the Strait of Anian, that mysterious forerunner of Bering Strait made popular by Mercator in 1569.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See book ii. chap. 1 (Hague, 1652, pp. 61 ff) for the Japanese question; book ii. chap. 7 (pp. 91 ff) for the passage from Diodorus.

<sup>2</sup> *Magnalia*, 1702, book i. chap. 1, § 6, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Letter-Book, i. 23; *Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica*, 1697 (2d ed., 1727, p. 2). Cf. the note on No. 67, pp. 178-179, below.

<sup>4</sup> *A Chronological History of North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery*, London, 1819, pp. 298, 300, 301 (cf. pp. 302 ff). Burney had already advanced these opinions in a memoir read before the Royal Society on December 11, 1817 (*Philosophical Transactions* for 1818, part i. pp. 9-23). Cf. Adelbert von Chamisso's reply, in Otto von Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery*, London, 1821, iii. 265 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The first *dated* map to contain the name Strait of Anian ("Streto de Anian") appears to be Zaltieri's Map of North America, 1566 ("Il Disegno del scoperto della noua Franza . . . Venteijs aneis formis Bolognini Zaltieri Anno. M.D. LXVI"). The Lenox Collection (New York Public Library) has this map, and I have had the pleasure of examining it. It is in the Lenox copy of Lafreri's Atlas, fol. [81]. There is a facsimile in Nordenskiöld's Facsimile-Atlas, fig. 81

Others held out for absolute continuity.<sup>1</sup> In either case, the idea that a part of America had been peopled by emigrants from Tartary had long been popular. It was espoused, for example, by Edward Brerewood, in 1614.<sup>2</sup> "It is certaine," writes Brerewood, "that the North-east part of *Asia* possessed by the *Tartars*, is if not continent with the West side of *America*, which yet remaineth somewhat doubtfull: yet certainly, and without all doubt, it is the least disioyned by sea, of all that coast of *Asia*."<sup>3</sup>

What is peculiar in Lee's remarks, then, is not the Tartar theory (which was well established in men's minds),<sup>4</sup> but the introduction of Japan, and its possible connection with Asia by land, as an element in the problem. This consideration had developed on the basis of a notion (entertained by the Japanese themselves and by them communicated to European visitors) that Yezo extended far to the eastward. This notion had been reported in 1616 by Father Girolamo de Angelis,

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(English translation, p. 129; cf. No. 103, p. 121), and in the *Atlas to Kretschmer's Entdeckung Amerika's*, 1892, Tafel XIX. 3 (cf. the text, pp. 440-443). See Sophus Ruge, *Fretum Anian* (Programm, Annenschule, Dresden, 1873, pp. 19-32; also in his *Abhandlungen und Vorträge*, Dresden, 1888, pp. 53 ff); O. Peschel, *Geschichte der Erdkunde*, 2d ed. (by Ruge), Munich, 1877, pp. 273 and n. 2, 816; K. E. von Baer, in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Russischen Reiches*, xvi. 289-290 (St. Petersburg, 1872); Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, English translation, 1897, p. 193; William Goldson, *Observations on the Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans*, Portsmouth, England, 1793, pp. 57-122.

<sup>1</sup> So for instance, Father Athanasius Kircher, the learned Orientalist, in his *Introduction to the Coptic Language* (*Prodomus Coptus sive Ægyptiacus*, Rome, 1636), expresses himself as "almost convinced by mathematical considerations" that Greater Cathay in the extreme north "*angulo Americæ Isthmo quodam coniungi*" (p. 100).

<sup>2</sup> Enquiries touching the Diversity of Languages, and Religions through the Cheife Parts of the World, London, 1614, pp. 96 ff (ed. 1674, pp. 117 ff). Brerewood opposes the "vain and capricious phantasie" that the Tartars "are of the *Israelites* progeny" (pp. 94 ff; ed. 1674, pp. 114 ff).

<sup>3</sup> P. 97 (ed. 1674, p. 118).

<sup>4</sup> See Roger Williams, *Key*, 1643, p. [viii]; Montanus (van Bergen), *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, Amsterdam, 1671, pp. 38 ff; John Ogilby, *America*, 1671, pp. 39 ff (a translation of Montanus); Nicolaas Witsen, *Nord en Oost Tartaryen*, new ed., 1785, i. 157 ff; S. G. Drake, *Book of the Indians*, Book i. chap. ii, 8th ed., 1841, pp. 6 ff; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, i. 76 ff. Morton, *New English Canaan*, 1637, pp. 19 ff, rejects the Tartar hypothesis in favor of the Trojans. In so doing he simply followed the lead of learned combinations going back to Virgil and involving Franks, Britons, and Scandinavians (see especially Viktor Rydberg, *Undersökningar i Germanisk Mythologi*, i. 24-74, Stockholm, 1886).

a Sicilian missionary in Japan.<sup>1</sup> He declared that, to the best of his belief, "Jesso" was not an island, but a huge projection of Tartary, lying opposite to Quivira, a similar projection of New Spain, so that the Strait of Anian lay between Quivira and Tartary. In 1621 Father de Angelis visited Yezo, and somewhat modified his view. He decided that "Jesso" was after all an island, separated from Tartary by a strait, though he is ready to admit that the supposed western strait may be only a river. As to the extent of Yezo and its position with respect to the Strait of Anian and America, he seems to have remained of his former opinion.<sup>2</sup>

These views had a profound and long-continued influence on cartography. Lee, however, was doubtless particularly affected by a more recent report, that of François Caron in 1636.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a sketch of the life of Father de Angelis see Crasset, *Historie de l'Église du Japon*, Paris, 1715, book xvi. chap. 26, ii. 429-432. He was burned to death at Jedo, December 3, 1623.

<sup>2</sup> The report of Father de Angelis (*Relazione del regno di Jesso*) seems to have been first published in *Relazione di alcune cose cavate dalle Lettere scritte negli anni 1619, 1620 & 1621, dal Giappone al molto Rev. in Christo P. Mutio Vitelleschi, Preposito Generale della C. di Giesu* (Rome, 1624), pp. 217-232 (Léon Pagès, *Bibliographie Japonaise*, No. 173, p. 21). The Harvard College Library has a large number of these Jesuit Relations from Japan, but lacks this volume, and I have not seen it. It is quoted, however, in the original Italian, by Sir Robert Dudley, *Dell' Arcano del Mare*, vol. i. book ii. chap. 17, p. 55, 1646 (and 2d ed., vol. i. book ii. chap. 17, p. 18, 1661). The substance of the letter, with a long extract, is given by de Charlevoix, *Historie et Description Generale du Japon*, Paris, 1736, vi. 24-41, and there is a sufficient extract (in Dutch) in Witsen, *Nord en Oost Tartaryen*, ed. 1785, i. 143-145. See also Buache, *Considerations Géographiques et Physiques*, 1753, pp. 84-88.

<sup>3</sup> *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijk van Iapan, gestelt door François Caron, . . . ende met eenige aenteekeningen vermeerderd door Hendrick Hagenaer, annexed to Verhael van de Reyze gedaen inde meeste Deelen van de Oost-Indien, door den Opper-Coopman Hendrick Hagenaer*, p. 134 (in [Isaak Commelin,] *Tweede Deel van het Begin ende Voortganch der Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 1646). There is also an edition of Caron's *Beschrijvinghe*, Amsterdam, 1649, in the John Carter Brown Library. The Description (with Hagenaer's additions) is translated in *Recueil de divers Voiages qui ont servi à l'Établissement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, formée dans les Provinces Unies des Pays-bas*, v. 301 ff (Amsterdam, 1706); 2d edition, v. 381 ff (Amsterdam, 1716). In 1662 Caron published his report in a revised form, purged of Hagenaer's additions. There is a translation of this (from a copy furnished by Caron) in Melchisédec Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux*, part ii, Paris, 1664; reprinted in *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, new edition, iv. 32-141 (Amsterdam, 1732). An

Caron was Director of the Dutch East India Company in Japan. In replying to certain inquiries of Philip Lucas, Director-General of the Company, he expressed the opinion that Japan, "called by the Inhabitants *Nipon*," is an island; but he declined to make the assertion positively, "for," he says, "I find that a great part of this country is unknown to the Japanese themselves." As to the "land of Iesso or Sesso," that, according to the best information that Caron can get from the Japanese, is an island, separated from the north of Nipon by an arm of the sea. It is of great size, and the Japanese do not know how far it extends, though they have made several attempts to explore it. Caron appears to believe that Yezo is attached to the mainland of Asia.

Georg Horn, already referred to, was probably the intermediary between Caron and Lee. In his *De Originibus Americanis* he appeals to Caron as affording strong support for the theory that the Americans are, in part, of Tartar origin. "The whole tract of country," writes Horn, "from Nova Zembla and Japan and the Chinese Wall and Corea, is still unknown to Europeans, so that, if America anywhere comes close to our hemisphere, or joins it, the junction must be in the neighborhood of Cathay, outside the Arctic Circle." "That North America is rather closely joined to Asia," adds Horn, "is made easily credible by the description of Japan which Francis Caron has lately published."<sup>1</sup> Then, after quoting from Caron's Report, he proceeds as follows:—"All this throws much light on the doubtful questions about America which we are investigating. For what hinders us from supposing that Sesso is a part of America, or very close to it? And how well the barbarousness of the inhabitants, as described by Caron, agrees with the New World!"<sup>2</sup>

Further confusion was introduced into the geography of Yezo by

English version, apparently from the Dutch edition of 1649, appeared at London in 1663:—A true Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam. Written originally in Dutch by Francis Caron and Joost Schorten [error for Schouten]: and now rendred in English by Capt. Roger Manley (Harvard College Library).

<sup>1</sup> "Vt vero facile credamus Americam Septentrionalem Asiæ propius coniungi, nupera quam Franciscus Caron publicavit Iaponiæ facit descriptio" (*De Originibus Americanis*, book ii. chap. 1, Hague, 1652, pp. 62-63).

<sup>2</sup> "Quæ omnia magnam lucem Americanis tenebris inferunt. Quid enim vetat quominus Sesso vel pars Americæ vel ei admodum vicina sit? Et quam bene illa barbaries novo orbi convenit?" (pp. 63-64).

the Dutch discoveries of 1643, but since these had not reached Horn's ears, and since Mr. Lee shows no signs of being acquainted with them, we need not pursue the subject. The curious will consult Count Teleki's sumptuous and definitive work on the historical cartography of the Japanese Islands.<sup>1</sup>

7. Compare Wood, *New Englands Prospect*, ed. 1635, part ii. chap. 4, p. 54: — "Yet did I never see one that was borne either in redundance or defect a monster, or any that sicknes had deformed, or casualty made decrepit, saving one that had a bleared eye, and another that had a wenne on his cheeke." Morton, *New English Canaan*, 1637, p. 32 (ed. Adams, p. 147), notes "not any of them, crooked backed or wry legged." In Champlain's *Voyage* we read: — "Tous ces peuples se sont gens bien proportionnez de leur corps, sans aucune difformité."<sup>2</sup>

8. This question probably referred to the *menses* (cf. No. 34).

10. Dr. Grew had doubtless inquired about flow of milk as compared with that of Englishwomen.

12-14. These were certainly physiological questions, — No. 12 relating to odor, No. 13 to discharge of phlegm, and No. 14 to the movements of the bowels. With Mr. Lee's answer to No. 14, cf. Williams, *Key*, p. 100:

There be diverse sorts of this Corne, and of the colours: yet all of it either boild in milke, or buttered, if the use of it were knowne and received in *England* (it is the opinion of some skillfull in physick) it might save many thousand lives in *England*, occasioned by the binding nature of *English* wheat, the *Indian* Corne keeping the body in a constant moderate loosenesse.

16. Probably Dr. Grew had asked whether the Indians change color under stress of emotion, as we do.

17. On the weeping and mourning of the Indians, see Morton, *New English Canaan*, p. 51, with the passages from Williams, Wood, and others cited by Mr. Adams in his note (pp. 170-171). Thomas Mayhew, 1650, speaks of their "hellish howlings over the dead."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paul Teleki, *Atlas zur Geschichte der Kartographie der Japanischen Inseln*, Budapest and Leipzig, 1909. Cf. O. Nachod, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 1910, pp. 196 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Des Sauvages, ou *Voyage de Samuel Champlain*, 1604, fol. 11 v°.

<sup>3</sup> In Henry Whitfeld, *The Light Appearing*, 1651, p. 11.

Dunton, *Letters from New England*, borrows from Williams.<sup>1</sup> Smith, *A Map of Virginia*, 1612, p. 30, is like Strachey, p. 90.

18. Compare Williams, Key, chap. 6, p. 40 (ed. Trumbull, p. 68): — "They have also amongst them naturall fooles, either so borne, or accidentally deprived of reason."

19. Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, ed. 1675, p. 125, says that the Indians "seldom forget an injury."

20. "They count him all one woman," that is, "all one as (just the same as) a woman." A little bit of Indian English. See Kittedge, *The Old Farmer and his Almanack*, 1904, pp. 333-378.

21. Cf. Nos. 66, 68.

25. Cf. Wood, pt. ii. ch. 20, p. 82: — "To heare one of these *Indians* unseene, a good eare might easily mistake their untaught voyce for the warbling of a well tuned instrument. Such command have they of their voices." Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, ed. 1675, p. 135: — "Musical too they be, having many pretty odd barbarous tunes which they make use of vocally at marriages and feastings." Strachey, bk. i. cap. 6, p. 79: — "They have likewise their *errotica carmina*, or amorous dittyes in their language, some numerous [i. e. metrical], and some not, which they will sing tunable enough." Vimont, *Jesuit Relations*, Relation 1642 et 1643 (Paris, 1644), p. 35: — "*Les Sauvages se plaisent fort au chant & y reüssissent tres bien.*"

27. "Three or four times as much physic as the English" was doing pretty well in view of the heroic doses of those times. "Suppose," writes Dr. Merrett, "a *Physician* hath prescribed a Pint of *Juleb*, &c. to be taken at four several times," and again, "When a *Physician* hath prescribed 20 Pills."<sup>2</sup>

30. Cf. Wood, pt. ii. ch. 19, p. 79: — "Spinne out the threed of their dayes to a faire length, numbering three-score, four-score, some a hundred yeares." Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 130: — "They live long, even to an hundred years of age, if they be not cut off by their Children, war, and the plague, which together with the small pox hath taken away abundance of them."

36. The manuscript reads plainly "Sebeniack." The word is unknown to me. Cf. No. 108.

<sup>1</sup> Dunton, ed. Whitmore, pp. 294-295 (or 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 122); Williams, Key, chap. 32, pp. 193 ff (ed. Trumbull, pp. 215 ff).

<sup>2</sup> A Short View of the Frauds, and Abuses Committed by Apothecaries, 1669, pp. 16, 17.

37. "That dreadful disease and arrow of God" is doubtless the plague, which was regarded as a very special manifestation of God's wrath. Morton, *New English Canaan*, thinks that the pestilence of 1616 and 1617 was "by all likelihood" the plague.<sup>1</sup> Cf. No. 111. Cotton Mather, *Angel of Bethesda*, ch. xx. (MS., p. 113), remarks: — "The proper *Plague* has never yett visited the Vast Regions of *America*: Howbeit *Pestilential Fevers* little better than *that*, have *there* made made fearful Ravages."

40. On *cosh-caska* compare Hariot's Report, 1588, sig. C 4 v<sup>o</sup>: — "*Coscúshaw*, some of our company tooke to bee that kinde of roote which the Spaniards in the West Indies call Cassauy."

42. The idea that consumption is "catching" among the Indians, but not among the English, is noteworthy in view of recent discoveries.

That consumption was contagious was a common idea among educated persons when Mr. Lee wrote. The Hon. Roger North, in his *Life of his brother, Lord Keeper Guilford*, congratulates himself that the latter (then Sir Francis North) was not present when his (Sir Francis's) wife died (November 15, 1678):

Her distemper . . . was a violent cough attended with a spitting of blood. . . . Every one knows what offences, nay hazards, a nearness to persons, that expire gradually in such consumptions, induceth; for he [Sir Francis] would not be absent from her more than was consistent: and when she must expire, and probably in his arms, he might have received great damage in his health.<sup>2</sup>

Cf. Cotton Mather's *Diary*, ii. 452 (a reference that I owe to our associate Mr. W. L. R. Gifford).

The contagious character of phthisis was well known to the ancients. In the *Problems*, wrongly ascribed to Aristotle, the question is raised: "Why do those who approach the patient catch consumption and ophthalmia and itch, while they do not catch dropsy and fevers and apoplexy or other diseases?"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 24 (see Mr. Adams's note, p. 133).

<sup>2</sup> The *Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North, Baron Guilford, the Hon. Sir Dudley North, and the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John North*, London, 1826, i. 167-168.

<sup>3</sup> Διὰ τί ἀπὸ φθίσεως καὶ ὀφθαλμίας καὶ ψώρας οἱ πλησιάζοντες ἀλίσκονται ἂν ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδρωπος καὶ πυρετῶν καὶ ἀποπληξίας οὐχ ἀλίσκονται, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων (vii. 8). Cf. Isocrates, *Aegineticus*, 29. See W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria and Greek History*, 1909, pp. 42-43, 128.

44. Compare Wood, part i. p. 39: — "Whatsoever is bitten by these snakes his flesh becomes as spotted as a leaper." So Lechford, Plain Dealing, 1642, p. 47: — "There are Rattle-snakes, which sometimes doe some harme, not much; He that is stung with any of them, or bitten, he turnes of the colour of the Snake, all over his body, blew, white, and green spotted; and swelling, dyes, unlesse he timely get some Snake-weed; which if he eate, and rub on the wound, he may haply recover, but feele it a long while in his bones and body." See No. 97.

Cotton Mather sent the Royal Society two good snake stories in 1712. They are reported, with some changes in form, in the Philosophical Transactions.<sup>1</sup> I give them from a copy of the original letter:

A Traveller in this Countrey mett and killed a *Rattle-snake*; but suffered the Angry *Snake* to give a Bite before he died unto y<sup>e</sup> lower end of the Switch, with y<sup>e</sup> lashes of which he had first spoiled his leaping. He rode on, & a fly disturbing him on one of his Temples, he rubb'd y<sup>e</sup> place, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> upper end of the Switch in his hand, unto which y<sup>e</sup> poison below had so permeated, that y<sup>e</sup> Head of y<sup>e</sup> poor Man Swell'd immediately, and (as I remember) he died upon it. . . . At Cape Fear, one of o<sup>r</sup> people Sporting with a *Rattle Snake*, provoked him, & suffered him to bite y<sup>e</sup> edge of a Good Broad Axe; whereupon, immediately y<sup>e</sup> Colour of the Steele Iron changed, & at the first blow he gave, when he went after this to use his Axe, y<sup>e</sup> discoloured part of y<sup>e</sup> Bitten Iron, broke off without any more ado. I know not whether I have now Sprung a New Game, for the Gentlemen, that are hunting after y<sup>e</sup> Liquor *Alkahest*.<sup>2</sup>

Cf. Mather's Christian Philosopher, 1721, p. 169: — "And yet [is] this *Rattle-snake* such a venomous Wretch, that if he bite the Edge of an *Axe*, we have seen the bit of *Steel* that has been bitten, come off immediately, as if it had been under a *Putrefaction*."

<sup>1</sup> No. 339 (for April-June, 1714), xxix. 68. Paul Dudley's account of the rattlesnake (dated Roxbury, October 25, 1722) may be seen in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 376, xxxii. 292-295. It is far more sober than Mather's.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Nov. 27, 1712 (addressed to Richard Waller, the Secretary of the Royal Society). In the archives of the Society. From a copy kindly lent me by our associate Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay. The alkahest, or universal solvent, was passionately sought after in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Dr. William Avery in Boston was in hot pursuit of it in 1682-1684 (see No. 26, p. 164, above).

The rattlesnake had attracted the attention of the Royal Society at an early date. In the Philosophical Transactions for May 8, 1665, there is a somewhat amusing passage: — "There being not long since occasion given at a meeting of the *Royal Society* to discourse of *Rattle Snakes*, that worthy and inquisitive Gentleman, Captain *Silas Taylor*, related the manner, how they were killed in *Virginia*." It appears that bruised leaves of "*Wild Penny-royal* or *Ditany of Virginia*" were fastened in the cleft of a long stick, and this contrivance was kept in front of the snake's mouth. "She was killed with it, in less than half an hours time, as was supposed, by the scent thereof."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Nehemiah Grew knew a good deal about rattlesnakes before he sent his *questionnaire* to Mr. Lee. In 1681 he had published an elaborate catalogue of the curiosities of nature and art in the cabinet of the Royal Society.<sup>2</sup> I note in his list "the SKIN of a RATTLE-SNAKE," "about fourteen more SKINS of the RATTLE-SNAKE," and "several RATTLES of the same Serpent."<sup>3</sup> He gives a particular description of the rattles, and his account of the creature is full of interest. "Those that are bitten with him," he avers, "sometimes die miserably in 24 hours; their whole body cleaving into chops."

In 1683 Dr. Edward Tyson had dissected a rattlesnake at the Repository of the Royal Society. An account of the dissection was inserted by Tyson in the Philosophical Transactions for February, 1683.<sup>4</sup>

46. Cf. Nos. 90, 95, 114. As to the appearance of the conjurer's demon in the shape of an eagle or a rattlesnake, there is a close parallel in Winslow's Good Newes from New England: — "This Hobbamock appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a

<sup>1</sup> No. 3, i. 43. For thrilling experiments with live rattlesnakes in South Carolina in 1720, see Philosophical Transactions, No. 399, xxxv. 309-315. Cf. also xxxv. 377-381.

<sup>2</sup> *Musæum Regalis Societatis. Or a Catalogue & Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities belonging to the Royal Society and preserved at Gresham Colledge.* Made by Nehemiah Grew, M.D., London, 1681.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 50-51.

<sup>4</sup> It was republished in 1699: — *Vipera Caudisona Americana: or the Anatomy of a Rattle-snake, Dissected at the Repository of the Royal Society, in January, 1682-3* (appended to Tyson's *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or the Anatomy of a Pygmie*). There was a second edition in 1751. The *Acta Eruditorum*, Leipzig, 1684, pp. 138-149, contains "*Viperæ caudisonæ anatomia, descripta ab Eduardo Tyson . . . Excerpta ex Transactionibus Philosophicis Anglicis mensis Febr. 1683. No. 144.*"

fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake." <sup>1</sup> Winslow, speaking of the Indian "powah," also remarks: "If the party be wounded he will also seem to suck the wound; but if they be curable, (as they say,) he toucheth it not, but *askooke*, that is, the snake, or *wohsacuck*, that is, the eagle, sitteth on his shoulder and licks the same. This none see but the powah, who tells them he doth it himself." <sup>2</sup>

In [Thomas Shepard], *The Day-Breaking*, 1647, p. 21, we find: "They were askt how they come to bee made *Pawwaws*, and they answered thus, that if any of the *Indians* fall into any strange dreame wherein *Chepian* appeares unto them as a serpent, then," etc. Compare Thomas Mayhew, letter of October 16, 1651, from the Vineyard, in *Strength out of Weaknesse*, 1652, pp. 28-29:

One of them did then discover the bottom of his witchcraft, confessing that at first he came to be a *Pawwaw* by Diabolical Dreams, wherein he saw the Devill in the likenesse of four living Creatures; one was like a man . . . Another was like a Crow. . . . The third was like to a Pidgeon . . . The fourth was like a Serpent, very subtile to doe mischief, and also to doe great cures, and these he said were meer Devills.

See also Thomas Mayhew's letter of October 22, 1652, in *Tears of Repentance*, 1653, [p. 8,] sig. B 2; cf. [Shepard,] *The Day-Breaking*, 1647, p. 21; Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 1727, p. 7.

Father Lallemant, who regards the Huron country as "*vne des principales forteresses, & comme vn donjon des Demons*," <sup>3</sup> speaks of the devils as appearing in dreams, "*tantost en forme de corbeau, ou autre oiseau; tantost en forme de couleuvre . . . ou d'autre animal*." <sup>4</sup>

49. On easy labor see Morton, pp. 31-32, and the authorities cited in Mr. Adams's note (p. 146). Compare Strachey, p. 110 (Smith, *A Map of Virginia*, 1621, p. 21); Dunton, *Letters from New England*, 1686, ed. Whitmore, pp. 268-269 (cf. 2 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, ii. 119), from Roger Williams, *Key*, p. 141 (ed. Trumbull, pp. 170-171); Mather, *Magnalia*, 1702, Book iii. part 3, p. 192. Cf. No. 51.

<sup>1</sup> Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, 1844, p. 357; 2 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, ix. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Young, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Huron report, p. 100, appended to the *Relation of 1639* (Paris, 1640).

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 129-130. Cf. Huron report, p. 74, appended to the *Relation of 1643 and 1644* (Paris, 1645).

51. This evidently refers to women after childbirth. See the references under No. 49. Wood's testimony is strikingly similar to Lee's: — "Upon a board two foot long and one foot broad . . . this little *Pappouse* travels about with his bare footed mother, to paddle in the *Icie Clammbankes*, after three or four daies of age have sealed his passe-board and his mothers recovery."<sup>1</sup> Winslow, too, remarks: "On the third day after child-birth, I have seen the mother with the infant, upon a small occasion, in a boat upon the sea."<sup>2</sup>

56. Cf. Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 1642, p. 52: — "They will not taste sweet things." Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, ed. 1675, p. 124: — "Their Teeth are very white, short and even, they account them the most necessary and best parts of man." Josselyn, p. 185, notes how the English "lose their Teeth." Wood, pt. ii. ch. 19, p. 79, says the Indians do not "experimentally know" "tooth-aches."

63. Cf. Williams, *Key*, chap. 14, p. 86 (ed. Trumbull, p. 111): — "This Southwest wind is called by the *New-English*, the *Sea turne*. . . . It is rightly called the *Sea turne*, because the wind commonly all the Summer, comes off from the North and Northwest in the night, and then turnes againe about from the South in the day."

On the winds, see Sewall's letter, which adapts Lee's remarks to Bostonian conditions.<sup>3</sup> The proverb quoted by Sewall is still current. I have heard the following traditional rhyme on Cape Cod:

When the wind is to the north,  
The fisherman he goes not forth;  
When the wind is to the east,  
'T is neither good for man nor beast;  
When the wind is to the south,  
It blows the bait in the fish's mouth;  
When the wind is to the west,  
Then 't is at the very best.

65. Probably Lee is referring to the thermometer, then a rare instrument. See Robert Hooke's *Posthumous Works*, 1705, pp. 555-556. When Canon Derham communicated to the Royal So-

<sup>1</sup> *New Englands Prospect*, ed. 1635, part ii. chap. 19, p. 82 (quoted by Adams in his edition of Morton's *New English Canaan*, p. 146).

<sup>2</sup> *Good Newes from New England* (Young, 1844, p. 358), — also cited by Adams, *ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> P. 154, above.

ciety a specimen of the meteorological observations made at Harvard College, 1715-1722, by Tutor Thomas Robie, he was forced to remark: "I am sorry that Mr. *Robie's* Observations want those of the Barometer and Thermometer: Neither of which Instruments were to be gotten in *New-England*." <sup>1</sup> On February 20, 1721, Dr. William Douglass wrote from Boston to Cadwallader Colden: "I know of no Thermometer nor Barometer in this place." <sup>2</sup> In 1725-6 Mr. Feveryear <sup>3</sup> was able to make observations at Boston with both instruments, and Isaac Greenwood, enclosing them in a letter to the Royal Society (May 1, 1727), described them as "the first sett of such Observations that was ever made in New England." <sup>4</sup>

66. Cf. Nos. 21, 68. *Curiosity* means "elaborateness" or "nice care." *No-cake* is merely an English corruption of the Indian word (by "popular etymology"). See Williams, Key, p. 11: "Nókehick, *Parch'd meal*, which is a readie very wholesome food, which they eate with a little water, hot or cold." Compare the references contributed by Mr. Albert Matthews to the Oxford Dictionary (s. v. *nocake*). See also Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, 1903, p. 91 (s. v. *nophkik*) and p. 294 (s. v. *meal*); Gookin, 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 150-151. The earliest example of *hoe-cake* in the Oxford Dictionary is from Joel Barlow's *Hasty Pudding* (1793).

67. Dr. Grew's question about pork may have been prompted by his wish to get evidence as to the fancied descent of the Indians from the Lost Tribes, — a theory well known to have been held by the Apostle Eliot <sup>5</sup> (though Cotton Mather thinks it was rather his *wish* than his *belief*) and to have been regarded with some favor by Roger Williams. <sup>6</sup> In this discussion the feeling of the Indians toward swine was of course much canvassed. "In America," writes Thorowgood, the choregus of the Jewish theory, "they eate no swines flesh tis hatefull to them, as it was among the Jews." <sup>7</sup> And his inference

<sup>1</sup> Philosophical Transactions, No. 423, xxxvii. 266-267.

<sup>2</sup> 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Grafton Feveryear (see Zabdiel Boylston, Historical Account of the Small-Pox Inoculated, 2d ed., Boston, 1730, p. 13; Register, xv. 333).

<sup>4</sup> Royal Society MS. Letter-Book, G. 2. 6 (quoted by Andrews and Davenport, Guide to the Manuscript Materials, 1907, p. 364).

<sup>5</sup> Eliot's letter in Thorowgood, *Jews in America*, 1660; Mather, *Magnalia*, 1702, book iii. part 3, pp. 192-193.

<sup>6</sup> Key, 1643, pp. [viii-ix] (ed. Trumbull, p. 24).

<sup>7</sup> *Jewes in America*, 1650, p. 7.

from the supposed fact is largely controverted by Sir Hamon l'Estrange.<sup>1</sup> Mather admits that the Indians have "a great unkindness for our *Swine*; but," he adds, "I suppose that is because our *Hogs* devour the *Clams* which are a Dainty with him."<sup>2</sup>

Lee rejects the hypothesis of Jewish origin, as appears from his answer to Grew's third question, preferring the theory that the Indians "come partly from y<sup>e</sup> African Phœnicians . . . and partly from y<sup>e</sup> Easterne Tartars from Japanward."<sup>3</sup> Sewall, in his covering letter, makes no comment on Lee's views. His silence was doubtless due to deferential courtesy; for, in 1686, in writing to Stephen Dummer, he had shown himself much impressed with Thorowgood's reasoning,<sup>4</sup> and in 1697 he was still on the Jewish side: — "For my own part, what Mr. *Downam*, and Mr. *Thorowgood* have written on this head, seems to be of far more weight with me, than what *Hornius*, or any other that I have seen, have guess'd to the contrary."<sup>5</sup> However, the Jewish hypothesis was not particularly acceptable to scholars. Gookin, who was disposed to regard it with favor, declares (in 1674) that "this opinion, that these people are of the race of the Israelites, doth not greatly obtain."<sup>6</sup>

68. Cf. Strachey, p. 77: — "They be all of them hugh eaters, and of whome we may saye with Plautus, *Noctes diesque estur*,<sup>7</sup> for which we ourselves doe give unto every Indian that labours with us in our forts, doble the allowance of one of our owne men." Cf. Josselyn, p. 130: — "They have prodigious stomachs, devouring a cruel deal, meer *voragoes*, never giving over eating as long as they have it." See also Wood, part ii. chap. 6, p. 58.<sup>8</sup> Morton has a chapter "Of their inclination to Drunkennesse" (book ii. chap. 9, p. 54).

70. Compare Strachey, p. 74: — "Flatt, broad cakes (much like the sacrificing bread which the Grecians offred to their gods, called

<sup>1</sup> Americans no Iewes, 1652, pp. 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> Magnalia, 1702, book iii. part 3. p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> P. 147, above (cf. p. 166).

<sup>4</sup> Letter-Book, i. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica, 1699 (2d ed., 1727, p. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 145).

<sup>7</sup> The passage which Strachey quotes is in the *Mostellaria*, i. 3. 78 (*dies noctesque estur*).

<sup>8</sup> See Morton, p. 25 (where Adams cites Wood and Josselyn).

popanum), and these they call appones." In the little *Dictionarie* appended, Strachey gives "Apones, *bread*" (p. 183). Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary*, p. 14, compares the Delaware word *achpoan*, "bread," given by Zeisberger, with the Natick *apwôu*, "he roasts or cooks (meat)," also "as used by Eliot, . . . he bakes or cooks (bread or other inan. obj.)." See also the references (most of them contributed by Mr. Albert Matthews) under *pone* in the *Oxford Dictionary*.

74. Compare Josselyn, *New-Englands Rarities*, 1672, p. 54: — "*Tobacco*, there is not much of it planted in *New-England*; the *Indians* make use of a small kind with short round leaves called *Pooke*." The same author, in his *Two Voyages*, ed. 1675, p. 76, remarks: — "The *Indians* in *New England* use a small round leafed Tobacco, called by them, or the Fishermen Poke. *It is odious to the English*." This *poke*, according to Tuckerman,<sup>1</sup> was *Nicotiana rustica* (Linnæus), "the yellow henbane of Gerard's Herbal, p. 356."<sup>2</sup> See also *pooke* in Trumbull, *Natick Dictionary*, p. 131, where it is noted that Tuckerman "is unquestionably right in his inference that 'the name *poke* or *pooke* was perhaps always indefinite.'" "It signifies," adds Dr. Trumbull, "merely 'that which is smoked,' or 'which smokes.'" Cf. No. 102, below. Strachey, pp. 121-122, speaking of Virginia, declares that "there is here great store of tobacco, which the salvages call *apooke*: howbeit yt is not of the best kynd, yt is but poore and weake, and is of a byting tast, yt growes not fully a yard above ground, bearing a little yellowe flower like to henne-bane, the leaves are short and thick, somewhat round at the upper end."<sup>3</sup>

With what Lee says about pipes, compare Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine*, 1605, ed. H. S. Burrage, Gorges Society, 1887, p. 124: — "They filled their Tabacco pipe, which was then the short claw of a Lobster, which will hold ten of our pipes full." Sewall's letter shows that the Indians had adopted English pipes.<sup>4</sup> Cf. Williams, *Key*, ch. 6, pp. 44-45: — "Sometimes they make such great *pipes*, both of *wood* and *stone*, that they are two foot

<sup>1</sup> In his edition of Josselyn's *Rarities*, 1865, pp. 103-104 (or *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1860, iv. 189).

<sup>2</sup> See John Gerard, *Herball*, enlarged by Thomas Johnson, 1633, book ii. chap. 67, p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Strachey, p. 55. In the *Dictionarie* (p. 183) he enters *apooke* and *apokan*.

<sup>4</sup> P. 153, above.

long, with men or beasts carved, so big or massie, that a man may be hurt mortally by one of them; but these comonly come from the *Mauquâuwogs*, or the *Men eaters*, three or foure hundred miles from us: They have an excellent Art to cast our *Pewter* and *Brasse* into very neate and artificiall *Pipes*."

75. On the treatment of infants see Wood, part ii. chap. 20, p. 82; Morton, 1637, p. 32 (ed. Adams, p. 147); Josselyn, pp. 127-128.

79. On suicide among the Indians see Sewall's Diary, October 12, 1715 (ii. 62). Increase Mather says that Squando, the Saco sachem, hanged himself (Illustrious Providences, 1684, chap. xi. p. 361). Morton tells of an Indian who "desperately killed himselfe" when he was drunk (p. 54). The following entry in Stiles's Diary (March 16, 1789) is very curious:

Mr. Isaacs now a Student in Law in this Town while in Georgia or Car<sup>o</sup> last year, went out on a party ag<sup>t</sup> the Indians. They pacificated & gave Hostages. One of the Sachems left his son an Hostage. But the son not enduring the Hostage state hung himself. The Indians resented it. The English alledged Suicide. The Indians on Examin<sup>n</sup> said they could not find that ever an Indian committed Suicide, & therefore believed the English killed the Indian Youth Hostage: and thereupon declared Revenge & Hostilities. N. B. Tho' Suicide frequent among the English, never among Indians.<sup>1</sup>

81. Dr. Grew's question obviously concerned unnatural vice. Dr. Lee asks him to excuse him from making any reply, — "Pardon this Query for any answer." That the question was neither idle nor unreasonable may be seen from Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, chap. xliii. II. 456 ff (1908).

83. On Indian games see the references in Mr. Adams's note in his edition of Morton's *New English Canaan*, p. 138, and cf. A. McF. Davis, *Bulletin of the Essex Institute*, 1885, xvii. 89 ff.

86. Compare Josselyn, p. 132: — "Their manner is when they have plague or small pox amongst them to cover their *Wigwams* with bark so close that no Air can enter in, lining them . . . within, and making a great fire they remain there with a stewing heat till they are in a top sweat, and then run out into the Sea or River, and presently after they are come into their Hutts again they either re-

<sup>1</sup> *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, ed. Dexter, iii. 348.

cover or give up the Ghost." See also Strachey, p. 108 (Smith, p. 29); Mather, *Magnalia*, 1702, book iii. part 3. pp. 191-192; Clayton, *Philosophical Transactions*, xli. 149. William Douglass, the opponent of the Mathers and Zabdiel Boylston in the matter of inoculation, approves the Indian "sweathouses" for the treatment of some diseases; see his *Summary*, Boston, 1749, i. 174. Paul Dudley sent the Royal Society a highly interesting account of a sweating cure performed in 1704 at Exeter, New Hampshire. He added a description of the Indian "houses to sweat" at Nantucket; elsewhere, he says, the aborigines have pretty well abandoned this method of treatment.<sup>1</sup>

89. On "blackening the face" as a sign of mourning see Morton, p. 51 (with Adams's note); cf. Wood, part ii. chap. 19, p. 79; Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 1642, p. 50; Williams, *Key*, 1643, chap. 32, p. 193.

90. We may note that Mr. Lee wrote these words (as well as those under Nos. 46, 95, and 114) shortly before the witchcraft prosecution at Salem, for which the belief that the Indians had to do with devils was partly responsible.<sup>2</sup> It is needless to cite the many extant accounts of Indian *powwows* or magicians. See, for references, Adams's note to Morton (*Prince Society* edition, pp. 150, 152); *Oxford Dictionary*, under *powwow* (noun and verb) and *powwower*.<sup>3</sup> Cf. David Brainerd, *Letter to Ebenezer Pemberton*, November 5, 1744, p. 37 (appended to Pemberton's *Sermon at the Ordination of Brainerd*, 1744); Samuel Hopkins, *Housatunnuk Indians*, 1753, pp. 23, 24; *Journal of George James*, in James Walcott, *The New Pilgrim's Progress*, 1748, p. 257. There is a curious remark, particularly interesting because of its late date, in President Stiles's *Diary* (June 13, 1773):<sup>4</sup>

The Powaws of the American Indian are a Relict of this ancient System of seeking to an evil invisible Power; . . . Something of it subsists among some Almanack Makers and Fortune Tellers, as Mr Stafford of Tiverton lately dead who was wont to tell where lost things might be found, and what day, hour and minute was fortunate for vessels to sail &c. . . . But in general the System is broken up, the Vessel of Sorcery ship-

<sup>1</sup> *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 384, xxxiii. 129-132.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kittredge, *Notes on Witecraft*, 1907, pp. 51-52 (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, xviii. 195-196).

<sup>3</sup> The passages were contributed to the *Dictionary* by our associate, Mr. Albert Matthews.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Dexter, i. 386.

wreckt and only some shattered planks and pieces disjoyned floating and scattered on the Ocean of the human Activity and Bustle. When the System was intire, it was a direct seeking to Satan.

95. Cf. Nos. 46, 90.

97. Compare Francis Higginson, *New-Englands Plantation*, 1630, sig. C3:

Yea there are some Serpents called Rattle Snakes that haue Rattles in their Tayles that will not flye from a Man as others will, but will flye vpon him and sting him so mortally, that he will dye within a quarter of an houre after, except the partie stinged haue about him some of the root of an Hearbe called Snake Weed to bite on, and then he shall receiue no harme.

Wood, pp. 38-39, is more circumstantial:

When any man is bitten by any of these creatures [rattlesnakes], the poyson spreads so suddenly through the veines, and so runs to the heart, that in one houre it causeth death, unlesse he hath the Antidote to expel the poyson, which is a root called Snakeweede, which must be champed, the spittle swallowed, and the roote applied to the sore; this is present cure against that which would be present death without it: this weede is ranke poyson, if it be taken by any man that is not bitten, unlesse it be Physically compounded.

Snakeroot was known to Dr. Nehemiah Grew before he received Lee's letter; for in 1681 he mentions as one of the botanical specimens in the Royal Society's museum "a sort of SNAKEWEED, growing near the River in *Connecticut*. So called, because the Root is used for the biting of the *Rattle-Snake*." <sup>1</sup> The Rev. John Clayton in his replies (from Virginia) to Grew's inquiries of 1687, mentions "the Root which cures the Bite of the Rattle-snake." He also remarks that he has had "40 several Sorts" of herbs, "or near that Number, shewed me as great Secrets, for the *Rattle-snake-root* . . . But I have no Reason to believe, that any of them are able to effect the Cure." He gives particulars.<sup>2</sup>

Robert Boyle, in his treatise *Of the Reconcileableness of Specific Medicines to the Corpuscular Philosophy*, speaks of "Virginia snake-weed" or "*serpentaria Virginiana*" as a cure "for the bitings of those

<sup>1</sup> *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 1681, part ii. section iii. chap. 1, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 454, vol. xli. part i. pp. 144, 153-154.

serpents, which, for the noise they are wont to make with a kind of empty bladders in their tails, the English call rattle-snakes.”<sup>1</sup>

James Petiver, F.R.S., the distinguished botanist and entomologist, mentions, in 1717, in a list of “Some *American Plants* . . . lately sent me by the Reverend and Learned Dr. Cotton Mather, at Boston, in New England, and Fellow of the Royal Society,”<sup>2</sup> London, a plant called “*Ophiophuga*, Cottonis Mather.” He adds Mather’s note: — “A *Poultiss* of this bruised and laid to the Part bitten by the *Rattle-Snake*, it immediately fetches out the *Deadly Poyson*: it’s also remarkable, that if put into the *Shoes*, no *Serpent* will darc to come near them. A *Tea* of it is a good *Ophthalmiack*. C. M.” Petiver appends this remark: — “N. B. I have already 4 or 5 different Sorts of these *Rattle-Snake Plants* from *Carolina*, *Virginia* and *Maryland*, and this, another, altogether new to me.”<sup>3</sup> Doubtless it was the same plant that Mather mentions in a letter to the Royal Society in 1712: — “We have another *American* plant, which is a certain and speedy cure, and does wonders, for the bite of a *Rattlesnake*; and is admirable against all Internal as well as external poisons.”<sup>4</sup>

In his Account of the Rattlesnake, printed in the Philosophical Transactions for March–April, 1723, Paul Dudley mentions bloodroot as a remedy. “Snake-weed” was among the New England curiosities presented to the Royal Society by John Winthrop, F.R.S. (H. C. 1700), in 1734.<sup>5</sup> See also Josselyn, *Rarities*, pp. 38–39, and *Two Voyages*, p. 114, cited (as well as Higginson and Wood) in Mr. Adams’s note to Morton (p. 213, n. 3). Cf. No. 44, p. 149, above.

Mr. Lee’s reference to Parkinson is exact. See John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum*, London, 1640, Tribe 2, chap. 25, § 6, p. 214: — “*Helleborus niger Saniculæ folio major*. The greater purging Sanicle like Hellebor.”

<sup>1</sup> Works, ed. Birch, iv. 305.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 81–114, above.

<sup>3</sup> *Petiveriana III, seu Naturæ Collectanea; Domi Forisque Auctori Communicata*, London, 1717, p. 12, col. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of November 18, 1712 (addressed to John Woodward, M.D.), in the archives of the Royal Society. I quote from a copy belonging to Mr. F. L. Gay. The letter is excerpted in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 339, April–June, 1714 (xxix. 64).

<sup>5</sup> Selections from an Ancient Catalogue, etc. (extracted from the *American Journal of Science*, vol. xlvii), New Haven, 1844, p. 6 (from the MS. Journal of the Royal Society).

98. Josselyn, *New-Englands Rarities*, 1672, p. 43, notes the use of "Raccoons greese" by the Indians in the treatment of wounds and aches, and again, in his *Two Voyages*, ed. 1675, p. 85, he remarks of "the *Racoon* or *Rattoon*," that its "grease is soveraign for wounds with bruises, aches, streins, bruises; and to anoint after broken bones and dislocations." Morton, p. 79, remarks that raccoon's oil is "precious for the Syattica."

103. As to "philtres pour attirer à soy l'amour" see Father Lallc-mant's Huron report, p. 74, appended to the *Relation* of 1643 and 1644 (Paris, 1645).

107. The classic passage for initiation by vomit among the New England Indians is the description in William Morrell's *New-England*, 1625:

Nec priùs excercet crudelia paruulus arma,  
Quam patiens armorum vt sit sibi pectus, amaram  
Herbis compositam peramaris sorbiat vndam,  
Vsque in sanguineum vertatur lympa colorem,  
Vndaque sanguinea ex vomitu rebibenda tenellis  
Vsque valent maribus: sic fit natura parata  
Omnia dura pati: puer hæc cui potio grata,  
Pectore fit valido cuncta expugnare pericla.

And here obserue thou how each childe is traind,  
To make him fit for Armes he is constraind  
To drinke a potion made of hearbs most bitter,  
Till turnd to blood with casting, whence he 's fitter,  
Induring that to vnder-goe the worst  
Of hard attempts, or what may hurt him most.<sup>1</sup>

See also Winslow, *Good Newes from New England*, 1624 (Young, ed. 1844, p. 360; 2 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, ix. 94); Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, ed. 1675, p. 60.

108. On this point Cotton Mather had fuller knowledge. In a letter to the Royal Society, 1712, he remarks:

We have a sort of *Cranes-bill*, which differs little from yours; except perhaps in the Colour of y<sup>e</sup> *Flower*, which with us is of sky-blue, and the largeness of y<sup>e</sup> *Root* which is near that of *Ginger*. Our Indians call it by the name of *Taututtipang*;<sup>2</sup> and from them we learn the manner, and

<sup>1</sup> Reprint for the Club of Odd Volumes, 1895, pp. 6, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Mather wrote *Taututtipoag*.

strange effect of using it. It is an Infallible cure, and *safely*, and *Quickly*, and easily performs it, for that filthy Disease (the *Lues Venerea*,) which the just Judgment of God had reserved for our later Ages, wherein so many Fools abandon themselves to the destructive Debaucheries of Unchastity.

He then gives details of the method of treatment, and adds that "with no other means, the Wretches, who have been so far gone in the foul disease, as to ly roaring with the Anguish of it, have in about a Fortnights time received a thorough Cure."<sup>1</sup>

James Petiver, F.R.S., remarks in 1717, that Mather had sent him a certain plant, "*Taututtiipoag*, so called by the Indians." He quotes Mather's note to the effect that "a *Tea* of this inwardly, and a Pultiss to the Part grieved, is the grand Medicine here for the foul Disease." Petiver adds:—"This is a sort of *Geranium*. *Batrachoides, longius radicatum*, Ray 31: p. 1061."<sup>2</sup>

The Rev. John Clayton, in replying to Grew's questions about Virginia, remarks: "Among the *Indians* they have a Distemper which they call the *Yaws*, which is nearly related to the *French-pox*; which they are said to cure with an Herb that fluxes them: But this I have only by Hear-say."<sup>3</sup>

I have not found *makerell* elsewhere as the name of an herb or root. Gerard gives "Macrell Mint" as a synonym for "Speare Mint,"<sup>4</sup> but this cannot well be the plant to which Lee refers.

Among the curiosities presented to the Royal Society by John Winthrop, F.R.S., in 1734, were "Myrtle berries, of which are made candles and soap. (*Myrica*.)" and "one of the candles and pieces of the soap."<sup>5</sup> See also Kittredge, *The Old Farmer and his Almanack*, p. 189.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of November 18, 1712 (addressed to John Woodward, M.D.); in the archives of the Royal Society. I use a copy kindly lent me by Mr. Frederick L. Gay. The letter is excerpted (briefly) in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 339 (for April-June, 1714), xxix. 63-64.

<sup>2</sup> *Petiveriana III*, seu *Naturæ Collectanea*, London, 1717, p. 12, col. 2. Mather's letter to Petiver, September 24, 1716, is in Sloane MS. 4065, fol. 255, and the original draught is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

<sup>3</sup> *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 454, xli. 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Herball*, enlarged by Thomas Johnson, 1633, book ii. chap. 225, p. 681 (cited by the Oxford Dictionary).

<sup>5</sup> Selections from an Ancient Catalogue, etc. (extracted from the *American Journal of Science*, vol. xlvii), New Haven, 1844, p. 6 (from the *Journal Book* of the Royal Society).













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Letters of Samuel Lee and Samuel Sewall



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